



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-92-078
Wednesday
22 April 1992

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-92-078

CONTENTS

22 April 1992

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Least Developed Countries Meeting Opens 17 Apr [Addis Ababa Radio]	1
SADCC To Coordinate Movement of Food Supplies [Johannesburg Radio]	1
* SADCC Views Regional Security Concerns [TEMPO 15 Mar]	1

CENTRAL AFRICA

Chad

Situation 'Back to Normal' in Ndjama [Paris International]	4
Foreign Minister on Visits to U.S., France [Ndjama Radio]	4

Zaire

National Conference Chairman Monsengwo Confirmed [AFP]	4
Permanent Bureau Elected [Paris International]	5
Opposition Makes Secret Deals With Government [London International]	5
Closure of 12 Commercial Banks Announced 20 Apr [London International]	5

EAST AFRICA

Ethiopia

Agreement on Confining OLF Army, Elections [Addis Ababa Radio]	6
Ogaden Front Official on Government Action [London International]	6

Kenya

President Says Mount Elgon Home Guards Disarmed [Nairobi Radio]	7
-----------------------------------------------------------------------	---

Somalia

Dissident Leader Rejects Egyptian Asylum [Beirut AL-SHIRA' 20 Apr]	7
--------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

Uganda

Foreign Affairs Minister Meets Chinese Delegation [Kampala Radio]	7
Funds for Stadium Promised [Kampala Radio]	7

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

DP Leader Says Party Will Expel 'Rebel' MPs [SAPA]	8
ANC Gains Parliament Seats [SAPA]	8
Text of DP MPs Statement [SAPA]	9
National Party on DP MPs [SAPA]	10
Boer State Leader Reacts [SAPA]	11
Decision on Traditional Leaders 'Premature' [SAPA]	11
Codesa Official Says No Decision Made [SAPA]	11
CP Terms Codesa 'Exercise in Futility' [PATRIOT 10 Apr]	12
'No Progress' Noted in Codesa Working Group [SAPA]	13
Mandela, PAC's Makwetu Attend SACC Summit [Umtata Radio]	13

Further on SACC Peace Summit [SAPA]	14
PAC Deputy President Grants Interview [NEW NATION 16-23 Apr]	14
Committee To Address Peace Accord Breaches [SAPA]	15
De Beer Comments on Transitional Measures [Johannesburg Radio]	16
ANC Refuses Comment on W. Mandela Criticism [Umtata Radio]	16
President's Council Chair on Funding Parties [SAPA]	16
TBVC Governments on Reincorporation [SAPA]	18
Commentary Notes Nature of Transition in Country [THE STAR 21 Apr]	19
21 Apr Press Review on Current Events, Issues [BUSINESS DAY 18 Apr, etc.]	20

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Official Denies Lethal Weapons in U.S. Containers [Luanda Radio]	22
Dos Santos Tells Cunene Residents To Build City [Luanda Radio]	22
Lucapa-Based MPLA Forces Shoot Own Commander [Voice of the Black Cockerel]	22
* UNITA Discourages Portuguese Investors [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS 26 Mar]	22

Mozambique

Dhlakama on Need To Discuss Constitution [Voz da Renamo]	23
Maputo Fishermen Feel Effects of Fuel Spill [Maputo Radio]	23
Commission of Inquiry Appointed [Maputo Radio]	23
Oil Spill Reportedly Stopped [Maputo Radio]	23
Oil Reaches Macaneta Resort [Umtata Radio]	24

WEST AFRICA

Liberia

NPFL Holds American, Italian for Espionage [AFP]	25
NAYMOL Statement on Failed Harbel Meeting [Gbarnga Radio]	25
Further on Harbel Meeting [London International]	25
Sawyer on NPFL Conference, Army Reorganization [Monrovia Radio]	25
ECOMOG Commander on Troop Deployment [London International]	26

Ivory Coast

'Desperate' Western Attitude Toward Libya Viewed [FRATERNITE MATIN 15 Apr]	26
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Nigeria

Radio 'Analysis' on Outcome of De Klerk Visit [Lagos Radio]	27
Human Rights Report Critical of Government [London International]	28

Senegal

RSA's 'Unconditional' Admission to OAU Favored [Johannesburg TV]	28
------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Togo

Unions Issue Statement on RPT Funds [Lome Radio]	28
--------------------------------------------------------	----

Least Developed Countries Meeting Opens 17 Apr

EA1804185092 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia
Network in Amharic 1000 GMT 18 Apr 92

[Text] The 11th regular ministerial meeting of the Least Developed Countries [LDCs] in Africa has opened at Africa Hall. The meeting deliberated on the economic situation in African LDCs from 1990 to 1991, including the trade imbalance and debt burden. In addition, the meeting examined the trade situation in the LDCs for 1990-1992 and the program of action issued by the UN Economic Commission for Africa for them.

SADCC To Coordinate Movement of Food Supplies

MB1704121492 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 17 Apr 92

[Text] Ministers from 10 drought-hit Southern African countries have agreed to coordinate the movement of emergency food supplies to prevent starvation among the region's 85 million people. Agriculture and trade ministers from the 10-member Southern African Development Coordination Conference said after a one-day meeting in Lusaka that they would set up a task force to coordinate the purchase of maize. They also agreed to call a donors' conference next month to discuss the needs of the subcontinent. The statement said that the international community had yet to fully appreciate the scale and severity of the drought in southern Africa. The ministers said they were aware that the region would not be able to respond adequately to the drought without some external assistance.

* SADCC Views Regional Security Concerns

92AF0632A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese
15 Mar 92 pp 14-17

[Article by Julio Macaringue]

[Text] Coordinating defense and security policies is one of the new gambles of the SADCC—South African Development Coordination Conference—within the context of the region's planned total integration. This matter will be addressed in the organization's upcoming summit which will be held next August in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe. Meanwhile, integration in the area of security is a matter for deliberation among analysts.

"SADCC has already begun discussions among its member states and consensus has already been reached concerning the need for regional mechanisms to manage our political and security relations." This statement was made by Simba Makoni, executive secretary of the SADCC at the end of the organization's 12th annual advisory conference on last 31 January. No progress was made concerning possible concrete steps in the direction toward such "management" of political and security relations among the countries of southern Africa, including the RSA [Republic of South Africa]. Historically, the region has had a certain coordination of political relations, and to a certain degree, defense and

security measures, only at the level of the Front Line States. This has occurred especially in aid to the liberation movements and in the campaigns against the apartheid system in South Africa.

Currently, the two factors—struggles for liberation and anti-apartheid campaigns—have been practically eliminated or are on the way to being eliminated. Simultaneously, we are witnessing a process of changes in the area that is following practically the same direction—the establishment of regimes characterized by political pluralism and the adoption of economic systems characterized by market liberalization. A third element in the quieting down of southern Africa is what Professor Berry Shultz of the Higher Institute of International Relations in Maputo considers "disappearance of the Soviet military influence in the region." Actually, the disappearance of the "Soviet empire" represents, to a degree, the collapse of a well to which some states of southern Africa used to go to draw inspiration and the means of confronting their neighbor—South Africa—which represented the other extreme in the complicated interplay of interests that characterized the 1970's and 1980's.

In a way, the three factors mentioned above constitute the premises for the adoption of a single language in southern Africa—a language that rejects confrontation.

One of the probable scenarios resulting from the lowering of the potential for confrontation suggests the start-up of a new phase of regional relations that favors cooperation aimed toward the development of various sectors of life in these countries. One of those sectors for probable cooperation will be precisely the military. The antagonisms that characterized the 1970's and 1980's—antagonisms between states or within them—led to the creation of enormous armies and the purchase of enormous quantities of war material, all out of proportion to the level of economic development of the states of the region. In conjunction with this problem was the question of the inefficiency of those colossal military structures.

Just to exemplify the enormity of the armies in southern Africa, one can cite the cases of South Africa, which in 1991 had armed forces of nearly 639,000 men—including the Army, Air Force, Navy, paramilitary forces, and medical services—on active duty, and nearly 187,000 reservists, according to the British magazine "Jane's Defense Weekly" of 20 July 1991 (pp. 107-116); Angola, with nearly 550,000 men, not counting UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] army; Zimbabwe, with nearly 57,000 men; and Tanzania, with approximately 91,000 men. The data referring to the last three countries are furnished by Ben Turok, in his book "Witness From the Front Line," edited in London in 1990 by the Institute for African Alternatives. This is just general information that cannot be used for any comparisons, given that some of the data refer to periods as long ago as 1982 (in the case of Tanzania).

We do not have any data referring to Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, and Swaziland. But it is to be believed that the numbers are quite a bit lower than those mentioned above. Concerning Botswana, Ben Turok points to an army of nearly 3,250 men. With regard to Mozambique, the latest official data presented recently at a seminar in Maputo concerning human rights indicated that the government's armed forces are composed of nearly 60,000 men, while the numbers of Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] total nearly 20,000 men. These are rather questionable figures in view of the fact that they are being put out at a time when the two parties who are on a war footing are involved in maneuvers to gain an advantage when the moment comes to form a national army. At the end of 1991, the government announced a plan to demobilize 45,000 men, but it immediately launched a national campaign of compulsory recruitment of young men for obligatory military service.

Also subject to question are the data regarding South Africa. The figures presented by "Jane's Defense Weekly" refer exclusively to the governmental defense forces—SADF [South African Defense Forces]—leaving out the party armies both of the black movements, including the African National Congress [ANC], the Inkatha, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], and the white extremists of the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement].

At any rate, this group of figures serves to demonstrate the high military potential that has been built up in southern Africa over the course of the last two decades. These are armies that were created and developed in a period of confrontation among various political sectors. Now, it is being planned that they should cooperate with the goal of adopting "regional mechanisms for management" of their political and security relations. It would be very interesting if we could present data concerning the military expenses in these countries and compare them with the expenditures for development projects.

Professor Berry Shultz provides us with some help concerning these prospects for integration or coordination of defense and security policies in southern Africa. He considers it important to do an analysis of the traditions, education, and the conditions of each army, as well as the regional political situation. He wonders about the role that will fall to the armies of southern Africa—integrated into a single structure or individually—within the new democratic picture and post-Soviet military influence. "What role will they have? Will they be reduced to guarding the borders? To guaranteeing internal security? To contributing to the peacekeeping contingents under the aegis of the United Nations?"

Concerning the last aspect—participation in the peacekeeping contingents of the United Nations—he warns against the high costs that this implies, with every country in southern Africa needing to analyze the case to see whether or not it would be to its advantage. "That is costly. Each country will have to analyze up to what point it will be able to spend on its military and what are the dangers of not spending those amounts."

He is also apprehensive about the evolution of the situation in South Africa with the military capability that it possesses, including that of producing nuclear weapons. "If the transfer of power to the majority comes about, who will control the nuclear weapons button? And if a civil war breaks out, what implications (for the region and for the country that has nuclear weapons itself) will that have?" Berry Shultz sees the SADF as a factor for optimism in case a civil war should break out in South Africa. In his opinion, the SADF will play a stabilizing role in the transitional period due to their experience and their professionalism.

In this analysis, he agrees with the British magazine "Jane's Defense Weekly." In its article of 20 July 1991, that magazine analyzes the South African Defense Forces in the context of the end of the military adventure against Angola, Namibia, and, indirectly, Mozambique. "South Africa is still the regional power. Assuming that it can overcome the current violence and reach a functional solution, it finds itself well positioned to play such a role (as a regional power)," says the weekly.

The similarity in the lines of analysis between the two parties that we are looking at here is more notable with regard to the leadership of any regional coordination at the level of military matters:

Berry Shultz—"It is difficult to talk about integration without there being one country that goes out in front. In western Africa, that role is being played by Nigeria. Here, I think that it will be South Africa."

Jane's Defense Weekly—"South Africa will also have to accept the responsibilities of defense that accrue to that role as the only country with an economy strong enough to sustain a credible deterrent force."

We are now in the realm of predicting strategic scenarios in the future. The current wave of changes makes such an exercise difficult. A general democratization of southern Africa makes one think, in the first place, of the creation of harmony in the region, founded on the affirmation of the same political religion—democracy and market liberalization. But to drop the analysis there would be a mistake, in view of the fact that similar experiences in other parts of the world—eastern Europe and the former Soviet empire—show that opening up the political process is liable to resuscitate social problems that have been suppressed for decades.

Concerning this scenario, "Jane's Defense Weekly" comments: "While it seems improbable that any African country will develop as a serious military threat (to South Africa), there is no guarantee of how foreign powers will look at Africa in the coming century." And it adds: "It is also possible that, freed from the constraints of being either Soviet clients or clients of the West, some African states will find reasons to go to war against each

other. There are potential border disputes and economic disputes capable of provoking a number of conflicts."

This vision, undoubtedly, seeks to justify a hegemonic role for South Africa within any restructuring that is designed for southern Africa. The premises on which it is based should not be ignored, although it is also true that the current members of SADCC are trying at all costs to reject the idea of a southern Africa developing under the shadow of South Africa. Experiences up until now present us with international organizations—whether they are economic, such as the EEC and the defunct CAME [expansion not given], or whether they are of a military character such as NATO and the also defunct Warsaw Pact—dominated by a state or a minority among them. The development of organizations based on harmony and equality among its members remains to be seen, and in that area, the first experience will come from the former socialist bloc where, out of the ashes of the empire dominated by the former Soviet Union, they are trying to erect a Commonwealth of Independent States.

"It is good to think about integration," comments Berry Shultz, "but it is premature to talk about this in the military case. SADCC has to deal with the economic and political questions before dealing with the military ones. Maybe five years from now."

It is difficult to predict the course of this process of establishing regional mechanisms for the common management of southern Africa's military affairs. Some time will pass before the sequels of decades of antagonisms, of confrontation, of destruction and death will be removed to give way to harmonious cooperation in the military sector. Distrust will be one of the major obstacles standing in the way of the realization of that dream of coordinating security policies. Such distrust will be all the more accentuated when one considers that the probable leader of the group will be the colossal South Africa, precisely the country that is held responsible for the conflicts that threw its neighbors into disarray in the first place.

Chad**Situation 'Back to Normal' in Ndjamen**

*LD2104194992 Paris Radio France International
in French 1830 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[Text] The situation is back to normal in Ndjamen after a tense weekend during which there were big movements of military vehicles in the capital. Many observers wonder whether there had been any disagreement between President Idriss Deby of the Bideyat ethnic group and Minister of Transport and Public Works Abbas Koty of the Zaghawa ethnic group. The minister had just returned to Ndjamen on Saturday [18 April] after a visit of several weeks to France. Has there been an attempted coup by Abbas Koty's supporters? Abbas Koty answers this question himself when interviewed by Christophe Boisbouvier:

[Begin recording] [Koty] There has not been any coup d'etat, merely rumors circulated by the enemies of the Patriotic Salvation Movement [MPS].

[Boisbouvier] It has been said that the Zaghawa, (Hassan Fadoul Kittir) and yourself were hostile to Idriss Deby's Bideyat?

[Koty] That is false. There is no problem between the Bideyat and the Zaghawa; it is the same family.

[Boisbouvier] Why then has there been such a movement of troops in Ndjamen during the past weekend?

[Koty] There were rumors, and rumors beget mistrust. This is what happened, and comrades met and discussed things and we found solutions and everything returned to normal.

[Boisbouvier] What were the solutions for?

[Koty] To find out whether there was a coup or not. In the final analysis, nothing happened.

[Boisbouvier] Have you met President Deby since your return to Chad last Saturday?

[Koty] Yes I met him three times, even this afternoon.

[Boisbouvier] To speak to him about sharing power?

[Koty] There is no sharing of the cake. The power is clearly defined. He is the president of the Republic and president of the MPS. We are the ministers.

[Boisbouvier] Are not some of your supporters discontented with the demilitarization of Ndjamen and with the fighters [combattants] being taken away from the capital?

[Koty] No, not at all. Everyone agrees that life should be demilitarized and the army organized. [end recording]

Abbas Koty also says he is in favor of holding a national conference in the country, a conference which is scheduled to take place in May.

Foreign Minister on Visits to U.S., France

*AB2104163592 Ndjamen Radiodiffusion Nationale
Tchadienne in French 0530 GMT 19 Apr 92*

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Mahamat Saleh Ahmat returned to Ndjamen on 14 Apr after a long mission to the United States and France. He was accompanied by the ministers of finance and of cooperation and planning. The foreign minister has held a news conference with reporters of the CHADIAN NEWS AGENCY, Chad television, and Radio Chad. With the national press he discussed relations between the United States and Chad and between France and Chad. The financing of the Ndjamen refinery by the World Bank, the mining of Chadian oil, and the reactivation as well as the continuation of programs already launched by the United States and Chad and by France and Chad have been delayed by the problems confronting us.

Concerning the UN embargo against Libya, the foreign minister stated that Chad [words indistinct]. Still concerning the embargo, (Jean-Louis Rigueur), the examining judge of Paris (?tribunal), is expected to have gone to Libya or to have sent an emissary there to interrogate the four Libyans accused by the French judiciary of involvement in the bombing of the UTA airliner which left 170 people dead in September 1989 [words indistinct].

Zaire**National Conference Chairman Monsengwo Confirmed**

*AB2104101592 Paris AFP in English 0041 GMT
21 Apr 92*

[Text] Kinshasa, April 21 (AFP)—Laurent Monsengwo, bishop of Kisangani and president of the Episcopal Conference of Zaire, was confirmed Monday [20 April] as president of Zaire's national conference.

A plenary session of the conference adopted the full list of its office bearers, drawn up by a 65-member ad hoc committee on a consensual basis.

Joseph Ileo, chairman of the Democratic and Social Christian Party, remains first vice-president.

The election of Monsengwo was greeted by lengthy applause from the entire assembly.

The conference's main task was to lay the foundations for the Third Zairian Republic by adopting a draft constitution—to be put to a referendum—and to set dates for legislative and presidential elections.

Permanent Bureau Elected

LD2204095192 Paris Radio France International
in French 0530 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Excerpts] Long applause last night in Kinshasa greeted the election of Monsignor Monsengwo as definitive president of the National Conference. [passage omitted] Here is Caroline Dumet:

[Dumet] [passage omitted] Joseph Ileo, president of the Christian Democrats, who obtained the position of first vice president, was also acclaimed by the 2,700 present at the conference. Much more disputed, however, was the arrival of three new faces among the 11 members of the bureau. Their political label is under the sphere of influence of the Presidency and government coalition. These three seats, one of which is a vice president, are apparently the result of delicate negotiations between the Sacred Union and the former sole party [MPR]. As Mgr. Monsengwo would want, the conference continues with reconciliation. The rest of the bureau is divided between the Civil Society, public institutions, and the Sacred Union.

Having adopted its internal regulations and chosen its permanent bureau, the National Conference should therefore be able to deal the important issues. No doubt on the agenda is a two to three week general debate to determine the work to be carried out by the commissions. Three days have been allocated to fix the agenda, and the deputies are called on to attend the next plenary session on Friday.

Opposition Makes Secret Deals With Government

AB2104150092 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 20 Apr 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Zaire's opposition Sacred Union has been trying to consolidate its grip on the long-running national conference today. The conference, chaired by Archbishop Monsengwo [word indistinct], was reconvened on 6 April after a three-month shutdown ordered by the Mobutu government, and as Cindy Scheiller reports in this telex from Kinshasa, the opposition has been hit by rumors that some delegates have been making under-the-table deals with the government.

[Begin studio announcer recording] In a lively session since the conference reopened, delegates stamped on the floor, clapped, and chanted: adopted, adopted, when an opposition delegate proposed an investigation into corruption of the forum. The delegate, a member of the Congolese National Movement, demanded that anyone accepting payments be thrown out of the conference. Opposition members alleged that the government of President Mobutu had distributed money to some opposition delegates to sway votes before today's scheduled election of the conference's permanent bureau. (Nowes Ngolo), secretary general of the opposition National Liberation Front of Zaire, said the Sacred Union was a

little bit shaky today because money talks in Zaire, and they fear the government would win a majority seat on the bureau.

Archbishop Monsengwo had denied suggestions that the conference organizers had distributed per diem money to delegates, many of whom left their homes in the interior nine months ago, when the talks began. One high-ranking member of an opposition party told me that the risks still remain that the conference could be shut down again. He said that is why the Sacred Union has been conducting secret negotiations with the ruling party since late February. [end recording]

Closure of 12 Commercial Banks Announced 20 Apr

AB2104155092 London BBC World Service in English
0630 GMT 20 Apr 92

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] If news coming out of Zaire over the weekend is anything to go by, then the ailing economy there could have hit a new low. The Zairian Banking Association has announced that the 12 commercial banks in the country are to close indefinitely as from today. The reason? Simple. They don't have enough cash. But what does a turn of events like this mean to the person in the street in Zaire? Well, here is a report from Kinshasa by Cindy Scheiller:

[Begin studio announcer recording] If the banks do actually close today, it will have little effect on the average Zairian who stopped putting money into banks long ago as hyperinflation took hold. Inflation in Zaire was up to 5,000 percent in the past 12 months. Zairians who do have bank accounts also find themselves waiting in line for several hours to withdraw cash. For the past few months, those withdrawals have been limited to amounts as low as the equivalent of \$5. Checks are virtually nonexistent.

The [word indistinct] newspaper recently poked fun at the national slogan written on Zaire's currency. It says: Peace, Justice, and Work. But [word indistinct] says that (?really it) should read: Chaos, Decadence, and Debauchery. Ironically, the general population—at least in the short term—will benefit if these banks close because if there is less cash on the market the exchange will drop. Economists say the government wants to close the banks in an effort to drive the exchange rate down and to pay off state employees, many of whom have not been paid for months.

The Central Bank has told the 12 commercial banks that it would give them money to divide among themselves to meet their client needs. However, these 12 banks say they need a far larger amount to operate. One leading banker said the Central Bank's promise amounted to just a drop in the bucket. [end recording]

Ethiopia

Agreement on Confining OLF Army, Elections

EA2104214092 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia
 Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] It has been disclosed that detailed negotiations have been held and general agreements reached at talks between the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] and the Oromo Liberation Front [OLF] mediated by the U.S. Government and the Provisional Government of Eritrea this week. This was disclosed this afternoon in reports by the two organizations submitted in turn to the 40th session of the Council of Representatives.

It was stated that the details of the agreement will be made public in due course and that an agreement has been reached for the OLF to confine its Army, whose size has been agreed on, completely to camps by tomorrow, 22 April.

It was also stated that agreement has been reached on the resumption of the elections in Region Four, which were disrupted [as heard] due to this conflict, to be finalized by 3 May.

The Council heard the two parties' reports with great pleasure and attention and thanked those governments and international and continental organizations that made relentless efforts toward realizing this agreement.

Ogaden Front Official on Government Action

AB2104164092 London BBC World Service in English
 1705 GMT 20 Apr 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] As the dominant party in the government, the EPRDF [Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front] is clearly hoping that today's local elections will go some way toward solving Ethiopia's ethnic problems, the EPRDF's most public dispute being with the Oromo Liberation Front, OLF. But now another party with a seat in the interim government, the Ogaden National Liberation Front [ONLF], is also voicing complaints. (Sera Dola) of the ONLF has just returned from a tour of Ogaden, the region in the south bordering on Somalia, and he is claiming that EPRDF forces are out of control. He says they violated the interim government's charter by interfering in local government matters in towns like K'ebre Dehar. Robin White asked him exactly what his complaints were.

[Begin recording] [(Dola)] ONLF, Ogaden National Liberation Front, was supposed to watch the stability and security of the urban centers. EPRDF were not supposed to interfere into the affairs of the locally elected committees. Rather, EPRDF interfered and now in K'ebre Dehar, all the committees elected by the people are in prison and no one knows their whereabouts.

[White] You are talking, in a statement you have just issued, about the government's shoot-to-kill policy. Now what do you mean by that?

[(Dola)] Yes, I am coming to that point. On 22 January, they have shot dead His Excellency (Mohamed Sheikh Mahumat Irat), who was a member of the Ogaden National Liberation Front Central Committee.

[White] What were the circumstances of that shooting?

[(Dola)] The circumstance was he came to the town and they asked him to give his weapon. Therefore, he said come to my office; I am a member of the Central Committee. Come to my office and then we raise the issue there but the soldiers shot him and wounded three other people.

[White] Who shot first?

[(Dola)] EPRDF shot him. He was killed instantly there and two other people were also wounded.

[White] But did he pull his gun?

[(Dola)] No he didn't. He was inside a car. It was in the control of the [word indistinct]. At the same time on 21 January, while the people of K'ebre Dehar was celebrating the massacre in (Baladuhindre) refugee camps, EPRDF shot bullets in the crowd and they killed two people, included among them was the journalist of the town, Mr. Abdul Rachid Suluepe Anshore. And no one has raised the issue, no court was (?brought), no report was written about it, and therefore these shoot-to-kill policies were the EPRDF's claims that they are [words indistinct].

[White] Is your organization retaliating at all? Is it fighting?

[(Dola)] Never, never. We don't want to kill a single person inside the urban centers.

[White] But you are carrying guns with you?

[(Dola)] Of course we are carrying; we are keeping the stability of the country. The borders are open, bandits are coming, people are robbed. Therefore we are guarding. We keep the trade flowing to and from the borders. We don't want these merchants to be looted. We want to keep the stability of the country. We want to get rid of bandits.

[White] Is not what you are trying to do is to try and get established control of the whole of the administration of the Ogaden? Isn't that what you are trying to do?

[(Dola)] We have to keep the stability and the security of Ogadenia.

[White] Why did you have to do it. Why can't the interim government do it?

[(Dola)] The interim government has not got the capability of doing that. This country belongs to us. We know the ups and the downs. We know the whole terrain. [end recording]

Kenya

President Says Mount Elgon Home Guards Disarmed

EA2204112292 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said the government has withdrawn guns held by the home guards at the Mount Elgon region to enable the security forces to maintain peace in the area which has been hit by tribal clashes. At the same time President Moi reiterated that the carrying of weapons of any kind by members of the public in all areas affected by the clashes was banned. President Moi was speaking at Kapsokwony market in Mount Elgon where he addressed thousands of wananchi [citizens] in his efforts to bring peace in the area. The president explained that the issue of guns to home guards along the Kenyan borders was meant to assist the security personnel in protecting wananchi against external banditry.

Describing district officers, chiefs, and their assistants as custodians of the security of the people, President Moi told them to be honest and impartial in executing their duties and maintain the confidence the people have in them. The head of state appealed to the people in the affected areas to assist security officers by reporting to them any acts of aggression instead of retaliating. The president said the government will beef up security personnel in the area so as to ensure there was maximum security. However, President Moi said, in order to ensure there was impartiality only non-Luhya and Kalenjin security personnel should be posted to the subdistrict.

President Moi warned the forest guards deployed in Mount Elgon area to strictly stick to their duties and avoid taking sides in any disagreement that may arise in that area.

His Excellency the president made it clear that as the president of this nation he was above tribal interests and the welfare of all Kenyans was his major concern. [passage omitted]

Somalia

Dissident Leader Rejects Egyptian Asylum

NC2104123092 Beirut AL-SHIRA' in Arabic 20 Apr 92 p 43

[From the "To and From Egypt" page]

[Text] AL-SHIRA' has learned that the Egyptian authorities have offered to grant permanent residence and a guaranteed Egyptian diplomatic passport to Major General Mohamed Farah Aidid, leader of the dissident and most powerful of Somali's opposition groups, in return for giving up his opposition leadership, dissolving his group, signing a permanent peace treaty, discharging his troops, and handing over his weapons to the legitimate government in Somalia.

Maj. Gen. Aidid rejected the Egyptian offer and told Assistant OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmad Salim that he refuses to give up his leadership and insists on overthrowing Ali Mahdi Mohamed and his government.

Aidid demanded the Egyptian authorities halt their arms shipments to Mahdi's government, accused the Egyptian and Sudanese Governments of working against his group, and threatened to seek military assistance from the French Government, which recently offered to intervene and back him against the Arab and African governments which support Mahdi's government.

Uganda

Foreign Affairs Minister Meets Chinese Delegation

EA2104200092 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 0400 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] The visiting Chinese delegation led by the vice chairman [of the Standing Committee] of the National People's Congress, Madam Chen Muhua, has paid a courtesy call on the second deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Paul Ssemogerere, at his office in parliamentary buildings in Kampala. The second deputy prime minister pointed out that Uganda and China are enjoying a good relationship and hoped that the visit will give the two countries an opportunity to discuss more areas of economic and technical cooperation. Mrs. Chen hailed the good bilateral relationship existing between Uganda and China since diplomatic relations were established between the two countries 30 years ago. She said she is satisfied with the work of Chinese engineers and technicians working in Uganda and noted that they support and cooperation for both government and local people. [sentence as heard]

The function was attended by the Chinese ambassador to Uganda, Mr. Xu Yingjie. The leader of the delegation is expected to sign a \$12 million supplementary loan with the Ugandan Government towards the construction of the proposed Mandela Stadium, Nabale, near Kampala.

Funds for Stadium Promised

EA2204113092 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1000 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Excerpt] China will provide an additional 60 million yuan loan to Uganda besides the 80 million yuan (?loan) towards the construction of the proposed national stadium at Nambale near Kampala. The additional 60 million yuan will cover changes in the costs of materials and services since the project was negotiated. An extension of three years to the utilization period of the original loan has also been granted to Uganda.

This was disclosed by the second deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Paul Ssemogerere at a dinner held in honor of the visiting Chinese vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Peoples' Congress, Madam Chen Muhua at Nile Hotel. [passage omitted]

DP Leader Says Party Will Expel 'Rebel' MPs*MB2104134592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1327 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town April 21 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] leader, Dr Zach de Beer, on Tuesday [21 April] said the party would now formally expel the four rebel MPs who announced they had joined the African National Congress [ANC] at a Johannesburg news conference.

Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Mr Robert Haswell (Pietermaritzburg South), were suspended from the DP Caucus last week after seeing the ANC leadership.

Dr de Beer issued a statement minutes after they officially announced their new ANC membership, saying that the news would surprise no-one. It vindicated his actions in suspending them and even raised the question as to whether the party should have been as patient with them as it had been.

"On the whole, this may be no bad thing," he said.

The DP generally felt it could do better "without these gentlemen" whereas the ANC might, in a symbolic sense, derive some advantage from their joining.

"I have no reason to think that our good relations with the ANC will be disturbed in any way.

"We shall now proceed to expel them formally from our party," he said. Replacements for their positions would be announced.

ANC Gains Parliament Seats*MB2104152792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1453 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[By Guy Rogers]

[Text] Johannesburg April 21 SAPA—Five Democratic Party [DP] MPs joined the African National Congress [ANC] on Tuesday [21 April], effectively giving the ANC a voice in Parliament.

Their membership was announced at a news conference in Johannesburg attended by all five members, including Sandton MP and former DP chief whip Dave Dalling who has until recently been in hospital.

ANC spokesman and National Executive member Pallo Jordan welcomed "our five new comrades" and said they would serve the ANC as independents in Parliament during the period before a new constitution.

"This is a liberating moment for us", said Mr Dalling, speaking on behalf of Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont), Mr Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Mr Rob Haswell (Pietermaritzburg South).

Two of the five new ANC members have come full political circle since their support for the National Party [NP]. Mr van Eck and Mr Momberg (for 30 years) were members of the NP before they joined the DP.

Mr Dalling was at one time considered part of the conservative flank in progressive parliamentary opposition to the government.

As far as the five are concerned, they remain members of the DP until that party decides otherwise.

The ANC, it was emphasised, had not asked them to resign their membership of the DP.

DP leader Zach de Beer has however already announced that he will move to have the five rebels expelled from his party.

The MPs are an interesting acquisition for the ANC, meaning in effect that it will now have five representatives in Parliament, an institution which it criticises as non-representative.

ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa saw no contradiction, saying "they will be in Parliament as independents".

Asked to clarify this issue, Mr Dalling said: "I think the correct term is we'll be independents who support the ANC".

In accepting the new members, Mr Jordan said they had worked closely with the ANC for years.

To some laughter, and in keeping with this statement, Mr Cronje fumbled his introductory speech, announcing the five's "new membership of the DP".

Mr Cronje said the five had worked with the ANC in line with the DP's stated policy that it should develop a broad formation of peaceful co-operation with those groups in and outside of Parliament who had the same objectives.

Although three factions had emerged in the DP after the referendum, discussions between ANC President Nelson Mandela and the five last week had taken place with nothing formally decided on which way the DP was going to go, said Mr Cronje.

Dr de Beer's comment that their membership was "debilitating" to the DP and their unilateral suspension had precipitated their joining the ANC.

Mr Dalling said the members had joined to promote a new non-racialism in South Africa.

"The second liberation struggle will start here, to end racism, distrust, minority fears...poverty," he said.

Mr van Eck said they had put forward no preconditions in joining the ANC.

Mr Momberg said, "working towards a democratic transition cannot be done from the comfortable sidelines of minority politics".

Asked if they had consulted their constituencies, which elected them on a DP ticket, about their joining the ANC, the members indicated they were in touch with the wishes of their residents and were willing to accept the decisions by their electorate on the issue, but had not actually consulted them specifically.

On the issue of their apparent dual membership of the ANC and the DP, Mr Dalling said there were "many hundreds" of South Africans in the same position.

Asked if their new allegiance meant their DP-policy views on nationalisation, for instance, would change, Mr Dalling said the ANC's view on nationalisation was "not principle".

"I'm not giving up any of my principles," he said.

Mr Cronje noted that the five had already tried to shift the DP's policy from aggressively free market to one of social democracy.

On the issue of his former support for the NP, Mr van Eck said: "The great thing is in this country people can change".

As far as the relationship between the ANC and the DP under Dr de Beer's leadership was concerned—"We're confident our relationship with the DP will continue to improve", said Mr Jordan.

Text of DP MPs Statement

MB2104163892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1617 GMT 21 Apr 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: African National Congress [ANC]: "African National Congress Press Conference: Five DP [Democratic Party] members joining the ANC: D.J. Dalling (Sandton), P.C. Cronje (Greytown), J. van Eck (Claremont), J.H. Momberg (Simon's Town), R.F. Haswell (Pietermaritzburg-South)"]

[Text]

Part 1: Position in Relation to the Democratic Party [DP]

1. Since the unbanning of the ANC [African National Congress], we have promoted a closer working relationship with the ANC in terms of the DP's stated programme of action of inter alia "the development of a broad front for peaceful co-operation, relations, joint strategies and alliances with organisations both within and outside parliament which are pursuing the same objectives",—which at the time excluded the NP [National Party] since the DP was essentially a white political party in opposition to the NP. In our actions we have conscientiously pursued this in practical terms

despite growing opposition from within the caucus. We have come to the conclusion that there was no such commitment from all members of the caucus, although we believe it to be the majority view.

2. A Strategy Review Committee has been appointed to crystallise the various options of positioning and strategy in the light of recent political developments. However before this committee could report back, a special caucus discussion was held after the referendum, where it became clear that three irreconcilable positions were held within the caucus: some members favouring the formation of a new party, remaining independent and those who favoured a closer working relationship, leading to formal alliance and eventual merger with the ANC when it becomes a political party.

3. At that caucus meeting, senior party members indicated that those of us who advocated a closer relationship with the ANC were a debilitating influence and that it would be better for all concerned if we left, and that this parting of ways should be managed properly and by mutual agreement. As one member put it "the divorce must be amicable." However, this was not a firm decision and all the options were still open for debate. Our discussion with the ANC since that caucus meeting were conducted on that very basis.

4. When Dr de Beer took the unilateral decision to suspend four of us without having had the benefit of a personal discussion or reporting back to the caucus and in the light of further statements with regard to the role that he sees for the DP, that debate and room for negotiation on managing the parting of the ways has now become impossible and we have therefore decided to join the ANC.

Part 2: Why We Join the ANC

1. Non-Racialism

We join the ANC to promote non-racialism in practice. The ANC has succeeded in bringing together into the organisation people from every national group and from all corners of the country. This illustrates to South Africa and the world that the ideal of an inclusive South African nation is rapidly becoming a reality.

To be part of a truly non-racial/non-ethnic organisation is in itself a liberating experience from an apartheid past. We now answer the call of Mr Nelson Mandela on the 11th February 1990 when he said: "We call on all our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new SA [South Africa]. The freedom movement is a political home for you too."

2. Liberation

We join the ANC to work towards the full liberation of all South Africans. The liberation of South Africa from an apartheid constitution and apartheid laws is far advanced. The second liberation struggle will start now,

that is to rid South Africa of the legacies of apartheid: racism, distrust, the breakdown of law and order, inequality, poverty and minority fears. We firmly believe that this struggle can in essence be led by an organisation that has in practice overcome the divisions of the past within its own ranks.

3. Democracy

We join the ANC to work for democracy in practice. The ANC in our experience has embarked upon an exploring, creative search for viable solutions to the needs of all South Africans and with the active involvement of not only its membership, but in interaction with community organisations and other structures of civil society.

We therefore join the ANC with no preconditions regarding our positions in the organisation or with specific policies, knowing that our experience and views on emerging policy positions will be judged on merit within the organisation.

4. Building the ANC

We join the ANC at a time when sinister forces are still destabilising the political process and emerging structures of the ANC in particular. We recognise that years of propaganda, which is still continuing unabated, has created a false impression of the ANC, particularly in the white community, and we trust that this step by some of us who are closely involved in observing the ongoing violence on the ground and working at grassroots level, will assist in countering this negative image of the organisation amongst thinking South Africans and the world community.

We call on all who have fought against apartheid but who have not had the opportunities that we have had in working with ANC structures, to reach out and take the hand of friendship extended by the ANC. We can confidently assure you that your commitment to work for a better SA will be enough to make you feel at home and really be part of shaping that future.

5. Recognition

We join the ANC in recognition of the leading role that it has played in bringing us so close to a negotiated settlement. We recognise the role of the leadership in exile and the leadership in prison and those prevented from participating in the political process, the many ordinary persons and youth at local levels who have had to bear the brunt of a most vicious and sustained onslaught of detention, harassment and even death during the apartheid years.

The political playing field is still far from level and we sincerely believe that any ganging up against the ANC by minority parties, or by means of contrived constitutional models designed to thwart the will of the people merely because the ANC seems to enjoy majority support in the

black community, will have a polarising and negative effect that will not be in the best interests of South Africa or of democracy.

6. Implementing a Vision

We recognise the role of many great liberal South Africans who have stood for equality, liberty and full human rights at a time when these concepts had no chance of being implemented due to the policies and racist laws promoted by the NP. We feel, however, that in today's S.A., it is not enough merely to stand for these values. We must take firm and practical steps which will contribute to the full implementation of all we believe in. Now is the time for working to implement real liberty, justice and equality and that can not be done from the sidelines in the comfort of minority opposition politics for the sake of it. This can best be achieved through membership of the ANC.

7. Parliament

It is not our intention to resign our parliamentary seats, nor has the ANC asked us to do this.

We have acted with a clear conscience in the firm belief that the steps we are taking are in the broad interests of our constituents and also of all South Africans. We will continue, as in the past, to serve our constituents ... those who voted for us, those who voted against us, as also those whose political disenfranchisement has barred them from voting at all.

In all that we do we will be guided by the ideals which have long motivated our political work and which we believe are fully embraced by the ANC. *Nkosi Sikelel' I-Afrika* [God Bless Africa]
God Bless South Africa
God Seen Suid-Afrika [God Bless South Africa]

National Party on DP MPs

*MB2104170192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1637 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[Text] Cape Town April 21 SAPA—Five suspended Democratic Party [DP] MPs who on Tuesday [21 April] joined the African National Congress [ANC] would find little support for their actions in their respective constituencies, according to the National Party [NP].

The NP, in a statement on Tuesday evening, was reacting to the announcement that Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg, Pierre Cronje, Rob Haswell and Dave Dalling had joined the ANC would stand as independents in Parliament.

The NP claimed more members of the DP Caucus were "harbouring similar sentiments".

"The DP, who tolerated them and their divided loyalties for so long, is now paying the price of having to forego

five parliamentary seats. Those seats could have been occupied by people who actually represent the voters of those constituencies."

The NP said the announcement had come as no surprise, claiming that ANC sympathies towards the five had been obvious for years.

"The statement issued by the five leads one to the inevitable conclusion that they will probably cause as much trouble to the ANC as they did to the DP," the NP concluded.

Boer State Leader Reacts

*MB2204102792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0908 GMT 22 Apr 92*

[Text] Johannesburg April 22 SAPA--The five Democratic Party [DP] MPs who joined the African National Congress [ANC] were pioneers of the new South Africa's politics, and more DP as well as National Party MPs could be expected to follow their example, says Boerestaat [Boer State] leader Robert van Tonder.

In a statement on Wednesday [22 April], Mr Van Tonder said the new political dispensation now called for a realistic stocktaking by the rightwing parties.

In the new political system with a multi-racial voters roll, the entire rightwing would not be able to gain more than five per cent of the parliamentary seats.

The alternative was a Boer state. As this could not be achieved through the ballot, the freedom of the Boers would have to be gained by means of a national struggle, Mr Van Tonder said.

"Most of the eastern bloc nations who recently gained their freedom did not gain it by means of the polling booth. The Boers will have to follow the same route."

Decision on Traditional Leaders 'Premature'

*MB2104181592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1758 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: African National Congress [ANC], 21 April 1992: "ANC press release on Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] sub-committee"]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] wishes to place on record its disagreement with the statement issued by Dr T.J. Mohapi, who chaired a sub-committee of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] examining the issue of the participation of traditional leaders.

Firstly, Dr Mohapi gravely misconstrues the situation by saying that "... the ANC is part of the agreement reached in the sub-committee." None of the individuals serving on the sub-committee are there as representatives of specific organisations or parties, but have been appointed in their individual capacities. Irrespective of

the views expressed by individual members of the sub-committee who also are members of the ANC, the ANC has not as yet pronounced itself on this matter.

Secondly, as far as the ANC is aware, the sub-committee has yet to complete its work. In point of fact Dr Mohapi himself alludes to the still outstanding submission of the president of the ANC, Comrade Nelson Mandela.

In our view it is therefore premature to characterise the decision announced by Dr Mohapi as conclusive.

Issued by: Department of Information and Publicity,
P.O. Box 61884, Marshalltown 2307, Johannesburg.

Codesa Official Says No Decision Made

*MB2104183292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1818 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[Text] Johannesburg April 21 SAPA--The Daily Management Committee [DMC] of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) on Tuesday night [21 April] described as incorrect reports that a sub-committee had agreed that traditional leaders, including Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, will become full delegates at the convention.

At the same time, the African National Congress and SA [South African] Communist Party also released statements saying the issue had not been finalised.

In a statement, DMC official Pravin Gordhan said the sub-committee had not yet completed its work as it was still receiving submissions on the issue.

"The sub-committee therefore has not arrived at any agreement on a recommendation in this regard to the Management Committee of Codesa. Recent reports attributed to the chairperson of the sub-committee that the sub-committee has reached tentative agreement on this matter are regrettably misleading and unfortunately anticipate the possible findings of the sub-committee," said Mr Gordhan.

He pointed out that only Codesa's Management Committee was empowered to take a final decision on the status of traditional leaders at the convention.

"The Daily Management Committee is extremely optimistic that a constructive solution will soon be found to facilitate the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders in the negotiations process," he added.

In its response, the ANC said it disagreed with the statement issued by Dr T.J. Mohapi, who chaired the sub-committee, that agreement had been reached about representation for traditional leaders at Codesa.

"Firstly, Dr Mohapi gravely misconstrues the situation by saying that...'The ANC is part of the agreement reached in the sub-committee'.

"None of the individuals serving on the sub-committee are there as representatives of specific organisations or parties, but have been appointed in their individual capacities.

"Irrespective of the views expressed by individual members of the sub-committee, who also are members of the ANC, the ANC has not as yet pronounced itself on this matter," the organisation said.

SACP [South African Communist Party] official Joe Slovo also disagreed that finality had been reached on the issue.

He pointed out that the sub-committee's work was incomplete and that ANC President Nelson Mandela was still to present his viewpoint.

"If indeed there had been agreement among members of the sub-committee, it would have been ill-advised to make a statement to the media before the sub-committee had submitted its findings to the Codesa Management Committee," Mr Slovo said.

CP Terms Codesa 'Exercise in Futility'

MB2104122192 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans
10 Apr 92 p 4

[Unattributed commentary in English: "Why The CP [Conservative Party] Won't Go To Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]"—From the "PATRIOT Review and Comment" section]

[Text] How did White South Africans allow themselves to be placed in the position where many of them are prepared to sit around a table with the African National Congress [ANC] and negotiate for something which is already theirs!

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) has become the fulcrum around which the future of South Africa [SA] is to be determined. Parliament has been sidelined. Parliamentarians now only sit three days per week while those from the National Party [NP] and the Democratic Party commute weekly to Johannesburg to attend Codesa committee meetings.

Whence Codesa? Who is behind it? What is its ultimate goal? And why is the South African [SA] government going through the motions of talking about 'power sharing' when it is common cause that Codesa is the vehicle for the ultimate transfer of power from the NP government to the ANC?

Only the gullibility of the White electorate would have permitted Codesa to become operative. Hundreds of thousands of Whites still believe that de Klerk has a plan B, something up his sleeve which will save them from ANC rule.

Codesa is the result of a plan by the American (and to a lesser degree, the British) governments to bring to power

the African National Congress whom the US State Department and other Western governments have been funding for years.

As with Rhodesia, the SA government has succumbed to more or less the same pressures—threats of sanctions, lack of foreign investment, the 'immorality' of apartheid and 'white supremacy'. And what a pushover the SA government has been: while the Rhodesians fought for their country, the de Klerk regime is only too eager to hand over 5 million White South Africans to ANC Marxist rule. Codesa is the medium for that handover, hence the urgency to get all SA's political players to attend and thus give credibility to its 'consensus' decisions.

The past two years have seen the National Party cave in to the ANC's relentless demands including the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party]; the release of nearly 60,000 'political' prisoners back into SA society (followed by the biggest crime wave in SA's history); moves to control gun ownership; the removal of so-called hardline NP Cabinet Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan (how they both lost their moments in history!); the 'suspension' of the death sentence; the dismantling of the SADF [South African Defence Force]; control of the SA Police through the "Peace" Accord of September 1991; and other supposedly NP non-negotiables such as an interim government and a constituent assembly. (In September 1991, Mr. de Klerk told delegates at the NP's Natal Congress that there would be no interim government. Three months later, he had agreed to this principle).

The one fly in the ointment is the Conservative Party [CP]. Although defeated in the referendum through massive 'yes' vote funding by Big Business and the media, the Conservative Party has a hard core support of nearly 900,000 people, and a massive potential backing from the bulk of White voters when they realise the true ramifications of Mr. de Klerk's ANC-led new South Africa.

By going to Codesa, we give the ANC the right to decide on our future. And what right does the ANC have to decide on anyone's future, least of all White South Africa's? Codesa has given a legitimacy to the ANC which it does not deserve. The ANC survives through foreign funding, international recognition by well-placed politicians and massive media support. Those Whites who voted 'yes' to 'continued negotiations' with the ANC should ask themselves why Western governments would fund a convicted terrorist whose organisation is controlled by the SA Communist Party, a man who has vowed to 'destroy the South African economy' if he doesn't get his way.

The structure and content of Codesa is heavily loaded in favour of the ANC/SACP alliance. Mr. F.W. de Klerk has already said that he would serve under Nelson

Mandela, and various cabinet ministers have publicly stated that this country can expect Black state president in the near future.

Furthermore, Mr. de Klerk has said that his policy of a united South Africa—a unitary state—is irreversible, so what point is there of putting one's case for self-determination when Codesa's goal is irreversible, and when the ANC has stated on numerous occasions it will not entertain any question of minority group rights in its new South Africa?

Anyone who believes that a separate state for Whites will be permitted through Codesa is living in a dream world. Whites who want their own independence will have to fight for it. It will never be sanctioned at Codesa for the simple reason that white South Africa is to be the for-ever-and-ever milk cow from which all others will obtain their sustenance.

Regionalism (or cantonism) as proposed by Codesa is a regionalism on geographic lines, not ethnic ones. Whites will be needed in every corner of South Africa to keep the economy running and to provide ever-increasing funding for SA's burgeoning third-world sector which has never, cannot now, nor ever will be able to sustain itself.

Although Mr. F.W. de Klerk stated that self-determination could be 'discussed' at Codesa, his version of this principle is based on individual self-determination, as opposed to the CP's group sovereignty policy.

A White independent state is anathema to those who wish to take over this country's mineral riches and industrial infrastructure. Whites are needed to keep the show on the road under an ANC government.

White (or even Afrikaner) South Africa will never be granted an independent state by Codesa. The ANC wants to rule a functioning, rich South Africa and this is only possible if Whites continue to produce the wealth from which the third world will live. Whites are to be the new SA's economic slaves, with no political power, no cultural homogeneity, no say over their own affairs.

Going to Codesa to 'put our case' is thus an exercise in futility. If we want true independence, free of Black unionism, crime, insecurity and crippling taxes, we must either fight for it or wait until Codesa collapses under the stresses of its opposing forces, and an election is called after the present government ceases to function.

Either way, White self-determination will be difficult to attain. But when the alternative is considered, our goal is worth the struggle.

'No Progress' Noted in Codesa Working Group

*MB2104184292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1806 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[Text] Johannesburg April 21 SAPA—Codesa's [Convention for a Democratic South Africa's] Working Group Two on constitutional principles was unable to make progress on

Tuesday [21 April] and mandated its steering committee to look into the differences that had arisen.

Government representative Dr. Gerrit Viljoen said after the day's discussions had ended that the group was "treading-water".

"We obviously have differences," he said.

As a result the Working Group's eight-member steering committee will meet next Monday [27 April] to draw up "lines of debate or proposals" to be discussed by the full group the following day.

He said it had proved difficult for the group's 80 members to reach agreement on the issue of a constitution-making body.

A member of the African National Congress [ANC] axis confirmed that no progress had been made.

The group is meeting at Codesa's headquarters at the World Trade Centre, outside Johannesburg.

Dr. Viljoen, also minister of constitutional development, said three positions had emerged on a constitution-making body:

- The government's proposal for a two house transitional parliament, which would include the present parliament;
- The position of the ANC-axis that a one person one vote constituent assembly draw up a new constitution; and,
- A "constitutional conference", as envisaged by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mandela, PAC's Makwetu Attend SACC Summit

*MB2204092792 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0800 GMT 22 Apr 92*

[Text] Senior opposition politicians are attending a peace summit in Johannesburg.

The summit's been called by the South African Council of Churches [SACC] to discuss what it says are unacceptably high levels of violence. Among the leaders attending are ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] President Clarence Makwetu. The SACC says it's expecting representatives from 19 organizations, among them the governments of Transkei and Ciskei.

No representatives of the South African Government or security forces have been invited.

Further on SACC Peace Summit

MB2204114192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0917 GMT 22 Apr 92

[By Guy Rogers]

[Text] Johannesburg April 22 SAPA—Black leaders from around the country, including African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela and an Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] delegation led by central committee member Vilaphi Ndhlovu, on Wednesday attended a top-level "emergency summit on violence" in Johannesburg.

The meeting was opened at 10.15am by the president of the South African Council of Churches [SACC], Dr Khoza Mgojo, who was flanked by National Peace Committee Vice-Chairman Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In announcing the intention to call the summit, SACC General Secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said neither the government nor security forces had been asked to attend because "forces of the state" were primarily responsible for the violence.

Leaders of 19 black formations, including homeland leaders, were invited to "deliberate on the causes of this carnage, and to jointly establish means of stopping it".

"This carnage" was reference to the 1,400 lives lost in political violence since the signing of the peace accord in September 1991.

Over 30 people were killed last weekend alone.

As proceedings began on Wednesday, notable exceptions who were invited included the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] and the Bophuthatswana Government—although the PAC was apparently still due to arrive.

Representatives from at least 10 other organisations, some of them more familiar than others, arrived for the summit.

The Azanian People's Organisation [AZAPO] was there, as were SA [South African] Communist Party Chairman Joe Slovo, Transkeian military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Trade Union's Neil Coleman, the PAC-aligned National Council of Trade Union's Mahlamolo Silekana and representatives from the Governments of Venda, Lebowa and kaNgwane.

The Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (CAST) was present, as were two black business groups—the Federated Association of Black Consumer Organisations and Services, and the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce.

In what seemed to be recognition of the serious violence in Natal, Mr Mandela was accompanied by the ANC leader for that province, Mr Jacob Zuma.

The IFP delegation was strengthened by Transvaal Inkatha leader Mr Musa Myeni.

In apparent deference to the gravity of their task, which has much to do with the death of innocent and poverty-stricken people caught in political crossfire, for the most part leaders left their limousines at home.

Mr Mandela came in a middle-of-the-range sedan, Mr Slovo chauffeured himself and the IFP's Vilaphi Ndhlovu, the first delegate to arrive, came in a taxi.

PAC Deputy President Grants Interview

MB2204060092 Johannesburg NEW NATION
in English 16-23 Apr 92 p 15

[Interview with Dikgang Moseneke, Pan Africanist Congress deputy president, by NEW NATION, under the rubric "Face the NATION"; place and date not given]

[Text] NEW NATION [NN]: Has the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] changed its position—from wanting to make Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 'unworkable' to demanding that it be 'restructured'?

Dikgang Moseneke: There is no difference at all. Anti-Codesa is anti its structure. We say it will not serve our function and therefore we are anti-it.

But it does not mean that we will pull down every bit. We are looking at creating Codesa afresh in a different way. And, not Codesa *per se*, because we might not want to be associated with that name.

The basic principle is that we need a forum which takes place at a neutral venue under a neutral chairperson, and which has neutral verification methods and international monitoring.

We did not go to Nigeria to find a route to Codesa. If it goes on, it will go on without us, and we will not regret it. But, if some of the major parties, such as the government and the ANC [African National Congress] are interested in talking about a restructured negotiating forum—which will be our demand at the Patriotic Front (PF)—we will be glad.

Codesa has done nothing to date, and we are not persuaded that it will deliver the liberation of our people.

NN: What was there to suggest that the government took you seriously and that they will act on your demands for a restructured negotiating forum?

Moseneke: We are at a delicate stage of the process and we do not want to speak for them. Suffice to say that we agreed that we are to have to hold further meetings. The date and venue have not yet been agreed upon.

We cannot say the government took us seriously. After all, how do you gauge seriousness? How do you gauge the seriousness of people who signed the peace accord. We have a situation in the country right now where more people have died since the signing of the National Peace Accord than before it was drafted. One can never prejudge the commitment of the other party.

We had serious discussions, otherwise we would not have travelled to Abuja.

We do not want to put more into it than there might be. We are saying we are starting a process. It is a serious exercise. We are confident that it will yield some results. And if it does not, we will review the situation.

NN: How useful was it to have a neutral chairman in Abuja and did you come up with binding agreements?

Moseneke: There were several impasses during the meeting, but then the third party would come in and say "I think this is the approach that you should try". And this makes the parties aware of their responsibilities in keeping the processes going. Involving a neutral party is a tried and tested method.

What is new is direct engagement, as we have now, in a situation where there has been 300 years of conflict.

NN: Do you see the bilateral talks with the government as an alternative to Codesa?

Moseneke: No. The bedrock of the way forward is the PF. And if there is an appropriate agreement at the PF, it will influence the way forward. I think there is an increasing awareness that whatever difficulties we have had in the PF, we still need each other. That is going to be an important forum that will influence future events.

NN: Your criticism of Codesa on the grounds that it is loaded with puppets, overlooks the fact that a fair number of them are the very people you will have to face at the PF?

Moseneke: We would not face them with the same status. In Codesa they can block a number of things. The whole debate on reincorporation demonstrates the undue power they exercise in Codesa. They have more power than they command on the ground.

At the PF they are part and parcel of a fairly structured body under the leadership of the liberation movement.

So we are talking about a question of independence and leadership here. The PF leadership would have firm principles. The others would not remain there if they did not subscribe to the binding rules that keep them in check. With this approach, they cannot act against the better interests of the oppressed people.

NN: Your demands for a neutral venue, impartial chairperson and an international monitoring force have so far failed. What is there to suggest that the PF and the government will now accept them?

Moseneke: Parties always put their positions when they come together to talk, but they are capable of shifts and changes.

We are saying that these are the things that we think are lacking in Codesa that are keeping us out.

NN: Are you looking at the constitutional proposals coming out of Codesa and how do they compare with to your own, which we have not seen?

Moseneke: We get regular supplies of every document that flies around Codesa. We know precisely what they are agreeing on and not agreeing on. That is why we are able to say that there is no real progress being made at Codesa.

Naturally, we are not at Codesa, and therefore have not prepared constitutional proposals for Codesa. The main features of the PAC's proposals are ready, and as and when there is a restructured body, we will make them known.

Committee To Address Peace Accord Breaches

*MB2204102092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0855 GMT 22 Apr 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by National Peace Committee: "Political Leaders To Be Held Accountable for Transgression of Peace Accord"]

[Text] The National Peace Committee is greatly concerned and extremely frustrated by the constant transgressions of the National Peace Accord in terms of public utterances of certain political leaders who are signatories of the document. Highly inflammatory statements which have been made, constitute a blatant contravention of chapter two of the accord which lays down a code of conduct for political parties and organisations. Clause 2.4. States:

"All political parties and organisations shall respect and give effect to the obligation to refrain from incitement to violence or hatred. In pursuit hereof no language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, including that directed against any political party or personality, nor any wilfully false allegation, shall be used at any public meeting, nor shall pamphlets, posters or other written material containing such language be prepared or circulated, either in the name of any party, or anonymously."

At a meeting this week of the national peace executive, a decision was taken to address such breaches more vigorously in future in the following manner: 1) Every transgression of the peace accord in terms of clause 2.4. will be brought to the attention of political parties by the administrative arm of the National Peace Committee which will also check the accuracy of such statements. 2) Such transgressions will be made public. 3) In the absence of a satisfactory explanation, chapter eight of the National Peace Accord which deals with the composition, objectives, functions and powers of the National

Peace Committee will be invoked whereby leaders will be summoned before the National Peace Executive. Clause 8.3.1.5 states:

"The functions of the National Peace Committee shall be, inter alia to:

convene a meeting of the signatories in the event of an unresolved breach of the national peace accord; and recommend legislation to give effect to the National Peace Accord."

De Beer Comments on Transitional Measures

*MB2104150092 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] A crucial phase in South Africa's passage toward constitutional change is set to take place this week when parliament and the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, begin sittings after the Easter recess. Correspondent Alison Van Heerden asked Codesa committee member, and Democratic Party [DP] leader Dr. Zach de Beer what the chances were of achieving consensus on transitional measures?

[Begin recording] [De Beer] Well, this is what is now hanging in the balance, and it's in the hands of Group Three, and I can only talk as an outsider to that group. It would appear to me that there is agreement between the parties, but we do need some kind of executive council or group of executive committees to oversee the work of government during this interim period. It seems at the moment that the National Party and the government have not really gone beyond proposing committees that would be advisory, whereas other parties—I think all other parties—want to see a transitional government with some real executive power. It doesn't seem to me that it should be impossible to find a compromise in this situation, and I hope that that is about to happen.

[Van Heerden] Do you think it is possible that we could gain consensus and have a transitional government by June?

[De Beer] If we gain consensus, and if the plenary session of Codesa in the middle of May adopts a formula, then yes, June, July, should not be too early to establish the structure involved. This is true only if it is along the lines I have described. If by any chance we adopt the National Party's proposals for a general election for a temporary parliament, that will take many, many months to sort out.

[Van Heerden] With decisions that are taken at Codesa about the type of power sharing that we will have, could we see possible alignments on the DP side with other parties?

[De Beer] We will always be prepared to form an alliance with one or more other parties in order to achieve something worthwhile. That is what we did with the Nats [National Party] over the referendum, but it is essentially temporary. We don't propose to sacrifice our identity. [end recording]

ANC Refuses Comment on W. Mandela Criticism

*MB2104123792 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0900 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] is refusing comment on criticism of some of its leadership by Winnie Mandela. She told a rally in Richmond yesterday that some unnamed ANC leaders are more interested in power than the people. John Matham reports:

[Matham] Gill Marcus of the ANC's Publicity Department was curt when approached for comment. In her words: I'm not prepared to say anything about that. Mandela said yesterday some ANC leaders do not seem interested in issues like education and squatters. She implied that elements of the ANC leadership are more concerned with allaying white fears than addressing the problems faced by their constituency. Mandela also had harsh words for leaders who talk privately to journalists. She warned ANC supporters not to trust people who work outside the organization's official Department of Information and Publicity. Marcus is in agreement with this.

She says the media often quote fictitious ANC sources to back up their own opinions.

President's Council Chair on Funding Parties

*MB2104123492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1119 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[Text] Some political parties would have to be partly funded by the state in South Africa's first democratic elections, the chairman of the President's Council Committee for Constitutional Affairs, Mr Kleppies Heyns, said.

The committee's report on the desirability and scope of an ethical code of conduct for the functioning of political parties was released on Wednesday.

The committee recommended that parties be registered, certain funding be disclosed and a difference be made between political parties and political interest groups.

The formation, running and code of conduct of political parties should be controlled by the constitution, the Electoral Act and legislation on parties.

A permanent electoral commission—separate from the legislature, and comprising jurists, experts and party representatives—should be established which could control the formation and functioning of political parties and ensure they act within the framework of prescribed legislation.

The commission could be a subdivision of a constitutional court with final appeal to the appellate division.

The right of political interest groups to influence public policy was recognised by the committee but this did not give them freedom to act injudiciously.

Groups should uphold the democratic process and the rules of the political system.

A political action group would have to register as a political party to take part in elections.

Lobbying was also regarded as a legitimate political practice, and forums should be provided for liaison between government and lobby groups.

The establishment of front organisations "with the aim of subverting the democratic process" was unacceptable, as was violence and non-violent civil disobedience.

"In a democratic political system passive resistance, violence and intimidation are incompatible with the democratic process, since elections should be used to indicate preference for and rejection of public policy and conduct."

Trade unionism could not be divorced from political parties, and there was a possibility the distinction between the two could become blurred.

"Trade unions should be employees' organisations.

"Trade union leaders and members may be members of a political party, but party leaders and office bearers should not hold any office in trade union organisations."

Membership fees of trade unions should not be donated to political parties and donations by trade unions should be disclosed.

State aid for political parties in a first democratic election had to be considered to "level the playing field".

Due to historical differences, the wide diversity in living standards, economic capabilities and educational levels of different sectors of the population had to be evened out.

"The importance of a first election to lay the foundation for a multi-party democracy cannot be sufficiently emphasised. Timely and urgent attention should be given to the funding of political parties."

Parties could be financed by their own sources or aid—direct or indirect government, or foreign.

There should be as few restrictions as possible on fund raising campaigns.

Direct state aid could be given proportionately on number of votes drawn or seats gained.

State contributions should be disclosed annually.

Indirect state aid could take the form of tax concessions.

Although the committee was opposed to foreign funding it recommended that the source, amount of the donation and its purpose be disclosed.

Indirect foreign funding to parties should be controlled by the electoral commission while overseas funding for projects such as education and social welfare should be encouraged as long as there was accountability to the state.

If the present democratisation process continued it should lead to universal suffrage.

This would mean urgent attention would have to be given to election financing, election periods, registration of parties and candidates.

The committee felt all parties participating in the elections should have equal opportunities and financing could restrict certain groups or give others an advantage.

"Direct state funding of elections could include subsidising or repaying election expenses.

"State subsidies, which enable political parties to participate in a first election, should be given to parties who have not received foreign aid. This should help prevent any party being unreasonably disadvantaged."

Funding for future elections should be based on the number of votes cast for each party.

Where funding and expenditure of elections would be addressed by the state, the drawing up of a code of conduct was unavoidable.

Election expenses should be restricted in an effort to bring about a greater equality between parties.

In the 1988 United States presidential election, it was proved there was a correlation between the success of a candidate and the amount of money spent on a campaign.

Another suggestion to increase equality would be the compulsory declaration of election funds by each party.

Due to South Africa's widely dispersed population a longer period between the day the election was announced and voting took place was called for than in countries like Britain (17 days) and Japan (21 days).

A longer election period was likely to be more costly and could also provide more opportunity for intimidation.

The local and regional registration of political parties should be made easier than at national level.

Registration requirements should not restrict agreements and alliances.

The proposed party act should be part of a negotiated constitutional settlement and should be combined with a code of ethics.

Parties registering should sign a code of ethics which should include an undertaking that:

- the democratic political process will be maintained;
- parties will honour a charter of fundamental human rights;
- respect for the national symbols of the state will be shown;
- the necessity and role of all political parties will be acknowledged; and
- political parties should be prohibited from encouraging racial hatred or violence or any form of racism.

TBVC Governments on Reincorporation

*MB2104123892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1512 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[By Sue Thomas]

[Text] Johannesburg April 21 SAPA—Three of the four TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] governments have decided they are not in favour of "testing the will of the people" before reincorporation into South Africa.

Only Bophuthatswana and the South African Government/National Party at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] on Tuesday [21 April] reiterated their position that the views of people living in the TBVC states should be tested.

Even the Ciskei—who until this week was not in favour of reincorporation without consultation—said in a policy document submitted to Codesa on Tuesday it no longer felt it necessary to hold a referendum before reincorporation.

"The Ciskei government would wish to reiterate its commitment to the concept of reincorporation into a democratic united South Africa," the Ciskei's document stated.

"The Ciskei government is convinced that this course offers the best opportunity for a stable and sound economic development for the Ciskeian people and that it would not be necessary to hold a referendum amongst the Ciskeian people to confirm this course of action."

The Ciskei delegation said, however, that as an independent sovereign state the homeland would not participate in an interim government of another state: South Africa.

"Reincorporation of Ciskei into the new South Africa can only take place when the new South Africa has taken shape and the people of Ciskei know what they are going to rejoin and know that in doing so they will be better off than they have been in the past."

Bophuthatswana on Tuesday remained adamant that it would not give up its independence.

"Bophuthatswana will not give up its sovereign and independent status until sufficient information about a future

constitution and the will of its people has been thoroughly tested," the homeland said in a position paper.

They also insisted on continuing participation in negotiations for a new dispensation in South Africa.

"Any suggestion that Bophuthatswana should degrade its status as an independent state for the sake of being able to participate in interim arrangements and future constitution-making, is therefore also not acceptable."

The SA [South African] Government said that while they had no objection to negotiating the reincorporation of the TBVC states, there would have to be a process to test the will of the people.

If the response was in favour of reincorporation, there would have to be bilateral negotiations between the SA Government and the homeland governments on:

- terminating the sovereignty of the relevant states;
- transfer of the executive, legislative, judicial and administrative functions of the relevant state to constitutional structures which were compatible with the present of transitional or final new constitution of South Africa; and
- restoration of citizenship.

While the Transkei has always been firm on the necessity of testing the will of the people, after a joint meeting of a 159-member referendum committee and 59 organisations in the homeland, the Transkei government decided a referendum was no longer a requirement for reincorporation.

"Transkei want restoration of their South African citizenship which they claim was taken away from them without consultation," their position paper said.

"Transkei intends to be part of the negotiations at Codesa right up to the elections and installation of an elected interim government/constituent assembly at which stage reincorporation can take place."

Venda, which has long been in favour of reincorporation without a referendum, said on Tuesday it saw no reason to descale into a national station before participating in the first phase of an interim government.

"Venda specifically demands to participate from the first phase of the interim government to the final stage where it eventually would have been reincorporated."

A source close to the SA Government accused those who had decided against a referendum—including the ANC [African National Congress], SACP [South African Communist Party] and Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress—of moving the goalposts.

All except three parties in the Working Group on the TBVC states had agreed last month that there would have to be testing of the will before reincorporation.

"Those three parties put their objections on the table, but there were no problems that we could not carry on with our work," the source said. "But next moment there was this moving of the goalposts and organisations dropped what they had agreed to earlier."

He was however confident that the deadlock could be resolved. If not, the Working Group would have to move away from the terms of reference and the matter would have to be referred to the Daily Management Committee.

Commentary Notes Nature of Transition in Country

MB2104144492 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
21 Apr 92 p 12

[Commentary by Benny Bunssee: F.W. Won Round 1 of the Power Game—Now for Round 2"]

[Text] Almost 25 years ago when circumstances drove me out of the country, this was a deeply stratified society.

It was not only the racial compartmentalisation into which individuals were boxed—it was also the fossilisation of thought, the impossibility of breaking out of fixed attitudes and customs into which individuals were trapped.

The nature of South Africa's transition makes it remarkable, and distinctly different from what has occurred in other Third World countries. There the struggle assumed a straightforward fight between the old powers of colonial domination and the indigenous people.

Here, that kind of struggle has been cleverly sidestepped by the National Party [NP], pulling the rug from under the feet of the liberation movements. Suddenly the language of change assumed a new form, the old fossilised thought patterns disappeared.

The struggle for power and political influence will cut across colour lines but still reflect deeply entrenched interests. In a way it can be said that our politics have overnight become multiracial in a way that those who advocated it never imagined.

Nothing reveals this as starkly as the attempts of the National Party to break into the black vote.

The liberation movements themselves, in particular the ANC [African National Congress], have played into the hands of Mr. de Klerk in being unable to forge unity among themselves. While the Patriotic Front was a good attempt to do so, it is now virtually defunct.

The violence between the ANC and Inkatha was a godsend for the Nats [National Party]. It has destabilised and demoralised the black communities, driven them into laager-type ethnic thinking, less able to deal with a situation they wish to abolish.

But ultimately South Africa will head for a straightforward type of modern democracy based on one person

one vote. Neither the strong opposition forces in the country, nor the international community will accept anything less.

Round one has been won by Mr. de Klerk in stemming the tide of an armed struggle that would inevitably have followed if the Government had persisted in its apartheid politics, and with it the loss of white power as has happened in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Africa.

Round two is uncertain and is taking the form of political struggle where the Government and Mr. de Klerk are attempting to lay down the rules according to its own power play.

But the struggle for power knows no rules, indeed makes its own rules. Yesterday's enemies become one's friends and, black turns into white, and so on.

South Africa is also a deeply pluralistic society, both culturally and politically, and the division of the unity of the African people into two contending liberatory trends, ANC vs PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]/AZAPO [African People's Organization] together with other interests like Inkatha and the TVBC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] regions, confirms that political pluralism.

It will be the ability of the Government to maintain these divisions, and this pluralism, that will ensure its own future survival, and its own aims of power sharing. In this process it will have to give in as much as to take, clearly indicated by the see-saws of the negotiating process.

But some aspects of that pluralism will fade away, like the interests of the TVBC, and the lunatic AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement]. They cannot hold ground because they defy all the norms of a modern democratic state.

The TVBCs violate the territorial integrity of the country, and the AWB represents a dying age that will be swept away. Both the ANC and the National Party, with the latter threshing around to maintain its power, will occupy the centre and dominant ground.

However, the interests of the PAC cannot be swept away that easily. The PAC represents an ideology that is becoming increasingly important in Africa and the African Diaspora.

The collapse of communism also gives a decisive edge to pluralism, and the lack of a credible alternative to capitalism will mean at most reform within that system.

But what form the next phase of the social struggle will take is beyond prophecy. If the bulk of the African people remain at the bottom of the ladder it could take an Africanist socialist form which might merge in with a worldwide Pan-Africanist movement.

The African people have always been in the vanguard in the struggle for change.

So far the ANC has been able to intervene against this with the support of its white liberal and socialist friends and divided the African people on this basis.

A free election based on one person one vote might be able to release that centralising force and the consent of a democratic state, particularly if it is based on proportional representation with its element of greater democratic fairness.

It will not be what the various interests want but it might be the only one that will enable us to get out of our impasse.

21 Apr Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB2104175992

[Editorial Report]

BUSINESS DAY

ANC Economic Policy Changing—Reflecting upon the development of the African National Congress' economic policy since Nelson Mandela speech at Davos, Switzerland, Johannesburg BUSINESS Day in English on 18 April notes in its page four editorial: "Its [the ANC's] economic policy unit has no executive power, it simply advises. But when one of the unit's members publicly endorses policies radically different from those normally expected, it is almost certainly done with more than just a nod and a wink from Mandela and the ANC leadership. And it is doubly significant when the strategy mapped out dispels some of the ANC's earlier ambiguity and conflicts directly with the socialist inclinations of the SACP and Cosatu. It makes clear that the ANC has realised that no one will invest in job-creating businesses here unless he is certain that a market economy will persist. Earlier this week the economic policy unit's little known Patrick Ncube pointed the ANC away from nationalisation towards the form of anti-trust intervention common in Europe and North America." "In the past, the ANC has railed against what it describes as 'monopolies' and threatened to nationalise or break them up." "Ncube suggests the ANC leave the monoliths to their own devices and that it should encourage the creation of new entrepreneurial businesses. Paradoxically, the existence of monolithic groups can deter foreign industrialists from investing here." "Ncube talks of an industrial policy which encourages small businesses and which provides incentives for job creation. And he talks of distributing wealth through economic growth rather than confiscation. The vision expresses by Ncube is a clear break with the past. The ANC is due to hold its conference on economic policy towards the end of May. And though the conference is unlikely to make public detailed economic policies, its pronouncements will be scrutinised for indications of a commitment to those the rest of the world sees as essential to growth."

BUSINESS DAY

Political Leaders' Calls for Peace 'Overrated'—Discussing the joint appearance by F.W. de Klerk, state president and leader of the National Party; Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress; and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party at the Easter services held by the Zion Christian Church in Moira, Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 21 April states in its page four editorial: "Joint public calls for peace from the country's three main political leaders have their place. But they tend to be highly overrated. At worst, they could divert attention away from more important peace initiatives. For a start, each of the political leaders and their organisations regularly take actions or make statements that immediately negate the kinds of sentiments they expressed on Sunday." Nelson Mandela can call for peace, yet the "ANC continues support 'self-defence' activities" which contribute to "the spiral of violence" and the ANC "has not exactly shown a sense of urgency in seeking a solution to the problem of private armies and the proliferation of weapons it spawns". Inkatha's Buthelezi "goes out of his way to create ethnic divisions". He "makes repeated threats about ethnic mobilisation and the warrior-like qualities of his people, even though he later denies ever contemplating violence as a political weapon". "And he fails to address the glaring fact that hostels known to be Inkatha strongholds have become the focus of much of the violence." Nor does the state president get away lightly. "President de Klerk and the NP, too, are not above blurring the divide between legitimate and dangerous political activity." De Klerk noted at Moira that "cunning and violent forces" were at work, but his threat to stall the negotiations process "until the problem of violence has been resolved" will "only encourage them to continue stoking the violence". "De Klerk also has an obligation to demand of his intelligence apparatus—once so efficient, now seemingly ineffectual—to seek out those responsible for the violence and let the judicial process take its course." The speeches at Moira contributed very little to creating peace. "Sadly, its contribution to peace will remain limited until all three show greater commitment to ending the violence."

NEW NATION

Goldstone Commission Needs More Power—"The Goldstone standing commission on public violence and intimidation has been charged with investigating the violence which occurred at Phola Park and Zonkizizwe squatter camps which left at least 29 people dead and many seriously wounded," notes Johannesburg NEW NATION in English in its 16-23 April edition in its page 18 editorial. Citing the varied reaction to the use of the South African Defense Forces in controlling the violence—some reject the SADF, others welcome the SADF and still others arm themselves thinking that the SADF acts in collusion with the forces of violence—the editorial states, "These incidents, which stand in sharp contrast to each other, show just how deep the suspicion

against the army, and at the same time shows just how desperate communities are for protection. That there are still communities that are prepared to trust the SADF as a lesser evil to other formations, and in spite of the years of using the security forces for advancing apartheid interests, is an indication of how deep the problems are, and how close we are to an explosion." "It baffles us why the preponderance of people caught with arms comes from the communities that have been victims of the violence and that the hostels, the launching pads of the violence and armories that are fueling the violence, remain relatively untouched. That the Goldstone commission of inquiry has been charged with investigating the violence is a small step towards the goal of ultimately subjecting all the security forces to public scrutiny."

"There is now the danger that if the commission continues its investigations without a corresponding urgency from the attorneys general, many people, particularly those from communities that are directly affected by the violence, will begin to see the commission of inquiry as merely a gatherer of information, rather than an effective force in combating violence. This may inhibit many potential witnesses who may feel that without powers to prosecute, the commission will still rely on the old institutions of law and order to bring the creators of the violence to book. Needless to say that many of our people believe that it is those very institutions which are responsible for the bloodletting now confronting us and that it is they who should be in the dock. More power to the commission would remove these uncertainties."

Angola

Official Denies Lethal Weapons in U.S. Containers

*MB2104202092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[Interview with Major Baza, representative of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, at the Joint Verification and Control Commission, office in Lobito by unidentified reporter; date not given]

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] says it was disturbed to hear that lethal equipment was allegedly inside containers it acquired in the United States. Major Baza, a UNITA member assigned to the Joint Verification and Control Commission [CMVF] in Lobito, says he has nothing to say. He claims that the equipment is not lethal.

[Begin recording] [Baza] Yes, we have been disturbed by the report.

[Reporter] I would like you to comment about the report.

[Baza] No, I have no comments to make. We have been disturbed with the position adopted by the other side. We have no comments to make to the media.

[Reporter] Is it not true that the containers have arrived?

[Baza] It is not true. It is not true. It is not true. We have no comments to make.

[Reporter] But are the containers not there?

[Baza] They are, but there is no lethal equipment. We do not make any statements to the media.

[Reporter] What was inside the containers?

[Baza] There is no lethal equipment.

[Reporter] Yes, but what are the contents?

[Baza] Those who have given you the information know about the contents.

[Reporter] Are the containers still in the port?

[Baza] Those who have given you the information know where the containers are. [end recording]

In Luanda, the main office of the CMVF has not made any comments.

Dos Santos Tells Cunene Residents To Build City

*MB2204055992 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[Report on President Jose Eduardo dos Santos remarks at meeting in the city of Ngiva on 20 April; recorded]

[Text] Ngiva, capital of Cuanhama District and of Cunene Province, is a ghost city that is rising from the ashes. The residents are slowly returning to their homes,

recreating what they used to have 16 years ago, but goodwill and imagination are not enough. Something else is required—it is necessary that the government assist in reconstructing Cunene Province.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who visited Cunene Province yesterday, has challenge the residents when he said, quote: We are going to rebuild from scratch, unquote. He pledged government assistance to achieve that goal. After visiting the ruins of Ngiva, the president of the Republic said:

[Begin Dos Santos recording] It is distressing to see that the whole city has been practically destroyed. Ngiva is in ruins. This calls for a major reconstruction effort on the part of all citizens and the government. There are great losses, but I think we will be able to resolve the problems we face here as long as the government can mobilize all available resources and send them here.

It seems that little attention has been paid to this province which was martyred for several years as a result of the South African aggression that has afflicted us since 1975. My visit here, which was scheduled to take place a long time ago, is aimed at calling the attention of the relevant officials to the need of coming here and assisting the residents of this area who have done a great deal to ensure national integrity. [end recording]

Lucapa-Based MPLA Forces Shoot Own Commander

*MB2204072792 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern
and Central Africa 0500 GMT 22 Apr 92*

[Text] Angolan Government and Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, MPLA-PT, troops confined in (Umlati) in Lunda Province's Lucapa district, fired shots at their commanding officers on 15 April. The victims of the attack were Lieutenant Colonel Mepacas and Lieutenant Colonel Monteiro, who were responsible for the [word indistinct] regional group, and Major Africa, the deputy chief of the Umlati troop confinement area.

Reports from the area say that shooting went on for some 15 minutes. Two people were killed and a number of others wounded.

Some military installations were burned in the wake of the shooting.

* UNITA Discourages Portuguese Investors

*92P40175A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS
in Portuguese 26 Mar 92 p 30*

[Text] Portuguese entrepreneurs should wait until after the Angolan elections, scheduled for September of this year, to effect their investments. This would be the best way to ensure their success, stated the UNITA [National

Union for the Total Independence of Angola] representative in Portugal, Colonel Aurelio Calhas, in a meeting with the Algarve business community in Silves.

According to Aurelio Calhas, "investment in Angola at this time represents support for the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], and would entail risks for the entrepreneurs who might see their investments fall through."

Despite the UNITA representative's appeal, Algarve businessmen could, nevertheless, take a different option, explained Candido da Gloria, member of CEAL [Confederation of Algarve Entrepreneurs] to DN [DIARIO DE NOTICIAS]. This manager considered that this was the right time to go ahead with investments in that area, keeping in mind the competition from Brazil, Spain, and France. He was concerned about the fact that payment for exports to Angola are, at a minimum, only processed seven months after they are shipped.

Mozambique

Dhlakama on Need To Discuss Constitution

MB2204072692 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo
in Portuguese 0500 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, granted an interview to Voz da Renamo on 20 April during which he discussed our country's political situation.

The Renamo leader noted the need for discussing Mozambique's existing Constitution because it is a document with antidemocratic laws which restrict freedom in our country.

President Afonso Dhlakama said that the Mozambique Liberation Front, Frelimo, government must agree to have its constitution discussed, not because it is the government's constitution, but simply because the government does not support free and democratic elections in our country. He added that it makes no sense whatsoever to end the war and allow the laws that gave rise to it to survive.

The Renamo leader regretted the behavior of certain Mozambican clergymen, adding they are no longer involved only in their religious duties, but are intruding in political affairs. President Afonso Dhlakama also noted that rather strangely, those clergymen seem to forget that before Frelimo felt the effects of Renamo's presence and engaged in talks, those clergymen either had no voice or never even prayed in Mozambique. The Renamo leader added that if those clergymen can do so now, it is because Renamo freed the churches, which used to serve as centers for Frelimo political activity groups, dormitories, or militia recreation areas.

It is very sad to hear bishops and cardinals deliver infantile and unintelligent speeches. Instead of working

for the Holy See, they are working for Chissano, President Afonso Dhlakama said.

The Renamo leader urged all clergymen to listen to their own consciences and to begin acting as real bishops and cardinals.

Maputo Fishermen Feel Effects of Fuel Spill

MB2104153792 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1400 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Maputo Bay fishermen have already begun feeling the effects of the fuel spill from the Greek ship, Katina P, which ran aground off the Mozambican coast on 16 April. Radio Mozambique today learned that in the Costa do Sol and Aldeia dos Pescadores areas, the oil slicks are growing larger and threatening the survival of maritime fauna and flora.

Some fishermen have admitted the possibility of interrupting their activities in the next few days should the situation worsen. They said that when nets are pulled from the sea, they show signs of oil.

Commission of Inquiry Appointed

MB2104190292 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] The Council of Ministers has appointed a commission of inquiry headed by the minister of mineral resources, who is also coordinator for environmental affairs, to investigate the circumstances of the oil spill from the Greek tanker. The commission includes the deputy ministers of transportation and communications, and foreign affairs.

The Council of Ministers has also instructed the Emergency Office, which has been set up at the Transportation and Communications Ministry, to liaise with the Health Ministry and the local authorities in order to prevent losses to the residents of the affected areas.

Oil Spill Reportedly Stopped

MB2104184792 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Interview with Joao Siteo, deputy national director of Mozambique's Maritime Authority, by Radio Mozambique reporter Faustino Igreja in Maputo on 21 April—recorded]

[Text] The oil slick is still moving toward the Mozambican coast, and this is worrying the authorities. Joao Siteo, deputy national director of the Maritime Authority, today flew over the oil slick as well as the area where Katina P has run aground. Interviewed by Faustino Igreja, Joao Siteo spoke of his findings:

[Begin recording] [Siteo] It appears that the spill has stopped. The tug boat has already arrived on the scene, but it will merely be used to prevent the tanker from breaking up.

[Igreja] Would you like to confirm whether oil is no longer leaking from the ship.

[Sitoe] Well I would not say the ship has stopped leaking oil. When we overflowed the area this morning we did not see any oil leaking from the ship. This could have been caused by the position of the ship. It is possible that spillage might resume at any time, depending on the weather.

[Igreja] What is being done to salvage the tanker?

[Sitoe] A plan to salvage the ship is still being coordinated. No final decision has been made. A contract has been signed between the ship owner and South Africa's (Benton Marine) salvage company, whereby a more powerful tug boat will tow Katina P at a very slow speed to prevent the ship from breaking up. The ship will be towed to international waters as far away from Mozambique's territorial waters as possible. Once there, oil will be transferred from Katina P to another ship that is on its way to the area. This is to avoid transferring oil off the Mozambican coast and to prevent oil spillage should Katina P break up. Once approved, the towing of the ship will begin tomorrow afternoon when tug boat John Ross arrives on the scene of the accident. [end recording]

Oil Reaches Macaneta Resort

MB2204075692 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0500 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Oil from the Katina P has hit beaches in Mozambique. Salvage experts are still deciding how to tackle the problem posed by the wrecked tanker which is lying on a sand bank in the sea north of Maputo.

Mozambican environmentalists say a big oil slick has reached the beach resort of Macaneta, 32 km north of Maputo. They say a smaller slick has hit mangroves on the island of Xefina. Somewhere between 200 and 3,000 [as heard] tonnes of bunker oil have already escaped from a hole in the oil tanker. Salvage experts say the tanker may break up in heavy seas and release more of its cargo of some 60,000 tonnes into the water. They say that could spell environmental disaster on the Mozambican and South African coasts.

An international team of salvage experts is to visit the Katina P again this morning as it waits for a vessel to take aboard some of the Katina P's cargo and for pollution control equipment from South Africa and elsewhere in the world.

Liberia

NPFL Holds American, Italian for Espionage

AB2104184592 Paris AFP in French 1753 GMT
21 Apr 92

[Text] Monrovia, 21 Apr (AFP)—An Italian missionary and an American businessman accused of spying were arrested a few days ago by National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL, the armed organization controlling most parts of the country) forces, it was learned today in Monrovia.

According to the Catholic archbishop of Monrovia, Michael Francis, Father Seraphino Dalpont was arrested in Kakata (50 km northeast of Monrovia) and is under "detention without trial under unhealthy conditions."

Monsignor Francis appealed to the NPFL leader, Charles Taylor, to release Father Dalpont or to "officially" charge him before a court.

Moreover, reliable sources in Monrovia stated that an American businessman, Keith Ross Stephens, had been arrested in the west of the country and transferred later to Gbarnga (150 km northeast of Monrovia), the NPFL "capital." He is also accused of spying.

According to these sources, Stephens went to Liberia to prospect for gold and diamonds.

NAYMOL Statement on Failed Harbel Meeting

AB2104124592 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English
1900 GMT 20 Apr 92

[Text] The National Youth Movement of Liberia [NAYMOL] says it is greatly taken aback by the failure of Dr. Amos Sawyer [word indistinct] to turn up for his planned meeting with President Charles Gankay Taylor of the NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] government. NAYMOL believes that the meeting which should have taken place in Harbel on Sunday, April 19, was viciously aborted by foreign forces and interests. NAYMOL is of the conviction that the need for Liberians to meet on their own soil and discuss the crisis and find possible solutions is highly imperative.

In a release, NAYMOL therefore condemned those foreign elements who have put up unnecessary obstacles, thus preventing brothers from converging and reasoning together. NAYMOL also wishes to specifically remind ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] that by projecting negative security excuses they, ECOMOG, are prolonging a no-war, no-peace syndrome, while Liberians continue to live in uncertainty and disunity.

NAYMOL therefore calls on both Dr. Sawyer and President Taylor to muster all the boldness and bravery to come together face to face and thrash out their differences for the sake of one thing; that is, Liberia.

Further on Harbel Meeting

AB2104143092 London BBC World Service in English
0630 GMT 21 Apr 92

[From the "Network Africa" program hosted by Hilton Fyle]

[Excerpt] Charles Taylor, leader of the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] in Liberia has changed his mind again in a move that looks good for peace. Mr. Taylor now says that he is going to allow the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] peacekeeping troops in to disarm his men. But what happened to that meeting with Dr. Amos Sawyer, the Liberian interim president? Reports say that it was scheduled for Easter Sunday, that is last Sunday [19 April], but it did not happen because Mr. Taylor did not show up. However, Mr. Taylor is insisting that the meeting with Mr. Sawyer is still in the cards.

[Begin Taylor recording] Sawyer and I are going to talk. We are very anxious to meet on the Liberian soil in order to do whatever I can within man's power to make sure that he and I get together and talk about the problem of our people because we need peace in our country. [end recording]

So how hopeful is the Liberian Interim Government side that the meeting will still go ahead? Last night we called up a member of that government, Deputy Minister of Information (Moses Ngambe), and Farouk Chotia put that question directly to him.

[Begin (Ngambe) recording] Well we have to keep in mind that we have always opened the door for dialogue, and we believe that even though that one opportunity has failed, there are quite a number of more opportunities in the future we hope that we can make use of. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Sawyer on NPFL Conference, Army Reorganization

AB2204104092 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] The outcome of the recent Geneva meeting on Liberia has been described as [word indistinct] satisfactory in the interest of the Liberian people. The president, Dr. Amos Sawyer, said the decisions reached in Geneva provide the basis to move forward to ensure that all Liberians live in peace, free from fear, intimidation, and suspicion.

Speaking to journalists yesterday at the Executive Mansion in Monrovia, Dr. Sawyer stressed the need for the encampment and disarmament of the combatants in the run up to democratic elections. The Liberian chief executive called on the current three-day meeting of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia in Gbarnga to reach a decision [word indistinct] with the implementation of the Yamoussoukro and Geneva accords. He said any

decision, which falls short of this noble goal, would be a disservice to the Liberian people and the interest of peace.

The West African peacekeeping force, the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] Cease-Fire Monitoring Group, will remain in Liberia until a new national Army is organized to protect and defend the future constitutionally elected government of Liberia. At yesterday's news conference, the president of the Interim Government, Dr. Amos Sawyer, said the new national Army will reflect a geographical balance to ensure the survival of the multiparty democracy.

President Sawyer told local and foreign journalists that as soon as the disarming and encampment process is completed, the national police will also be reorganized to ensure professionalism in combating crime in the country. Dr. Sawyer said he has no doubt that the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group will fully carry out the mandate given it by the West African leaders at the Yamoussoukro IV and Geneva meetings.

ECOMOG Commander on Troop Deployment

*AB2204121592 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 21 Apr 92*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] After a succession of misunderstandings and on and off agreements, the seven-nation ECOMOG [Economic Community of Western African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] force in Liberia says it will soon deploy its troops throughout the country. Yesterday, ECOMOG announced that the operation would include areas under the control of NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] rebel leader Charles Taylor who, over the last few days, seems to have dropped his opposition to the plan. The operation will also involve the setting up of a buffer zone on the Liberia-Sierra Leone border, agreed when the Yamoussoukro IV Peace Accord was signed last November and reaffirmed at a meeting in Geneva two weeks ago. On the line to Monrovia, Elizabeth Ohene asked ECOMOG's Nigerian commander, General Ishaya Bakut when his men will start to deploy.

[Begin recording] [Bakut] From the conclusions of the last meeting at Geneva, we had been asked to start at least Friday, 30th of April [date as heard], and we believe that all preparations would have been completed by that time, and the coordinated activities will start on April the 30th.

[Ohene] Well have you been able to iron out all the outstanding differences with Mr. Charles Taylor?

[Bakut] I am making efforts to get in touch with him. I believe that the differences will not be many, considering the fact that he was one of those who asked me to do what I am supposed to start doing on the 30th.

[Ohene] It seems as if the one point of disagreement, at least from his point of view, seems to be about what kind of arms, if any, you will allow his policemen or his soldiers to carry, what light arms. Have you decided if and what you would allow his people to carry?

[Bakut] No, it is not for me to decide on what he should carry or what he should not carry. What he should carry and what he should not carry has been clearly stated in the document he was a signatory to.

[Ohene] And that states what?

[Bakut] But of course there will be an avenue in which we will discuss how we will implement the agreement that was gone into in Yamoussoukro and amplified in Geneva.

[Ohene] How does it work really, General, this deployment of troops and disarming of people? Are you expecting all these people, who are under arms currently, to willingly give you their arms or are you going to send in troops to go and disarm them? How is it going to work?

[Bakut] The method we would use will become apparent when the exercise starts, but we believe that the goodwill is there, the sincerity is there—first expressed in the spirit of the agreement—and the wish of the Liberian people that the time has reached where everybody should be able to hand over his arms to the peacekeeping force to be able to allow us to be able to create the conditions that are conducive for them to carry out elections.

[Ohene] Are your troops looking forward to this or are they rather apprehensive?

[Bakut] They are looking forward to this, certainly, because that is the main thing they came to carry out here. We are optimists here and we look forward to Liberians cooperating. We are here as peace makers and we have come in peace. So, from that angle, my troops are very anxious to carry out this very [word indistinct] exercise. [end recording]

Ivory Coast

'Desperate' Western Attitude Toward Libya Viewed

*AB2204063092 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 15 Apr 92 p20*

[From "The Last" column by Noel Yao: "We Have Seen This Before"]

[Text] Must we find ourselves regretting the defunct Cold War? This question deserves to be asked today, at a time when the ultimatum, given by the United Nations at the instruction of the Western powers (the United States, Great Britain, France) expires.

In fact, the current crisis between Libya's boisterous Colonel al-Qadhafi and influential members of the Security Council—who form a real world government directed from the White House—is, in many respects, similar to the crisis which led the international coalition to bombard Baghdad a little over a year ago.

The first observation is that both crises occur at a time when the old bipolarity has faded away. In both cases, the swiftness with which the crisis developed (five months) from its start to the implementation of sanctions adopted (without much difficulty) is disconcerting. In the past, veto rights would have been imposed to avoid giving a legal coating to political operations or more precisely "international police activities."

The fact that we are calling attention to this desperate attitude of the West, however, does not exonerate AL-QADHDHAFI or SADDAM HUSAYN. In the cases of Lockerbie and UTA, human life was lost. This can only be subject to condemnation and must be severely condemned. If it is correct that these two explosions in flight were caused by terrorist acts, the authors of such hideous acts certainly deserve to be brought before court and, if necessary, be severely punished. There are very serious and persistent suspicions being raised against two Libyan nationals, Messrs 'Abd-al-Basit 'Ali Muhammad al-Miqrahi and al-Amin Khalifah Fuhaymah. For the time being, according to good Western legal logic, they are supposed to be innocent until their guilt is established clearly and definitively.

But then, judging from the current agitation, it is not completely ruled out for one to think that they have already been condemned. Worse still, their country, Libya, has also been condemned. Even if it is assumed that there is a criminal offense, legal action should be taken and, all the more so, condemnation made on an individual basis.

Here again, it will be necessary to keep silent over the fact that certainly the "logic of war," the escalation of verbal and diplomatic attacks, and the threatening tone adopted in such instances do not facilitate the settlement of conflicts. No state whatsoever, even when it is legally wrong, likes to act under pressure from or under the dictates of others.

Nigeria

Radio 'Analysis' on Outcome of De Klerk Visit

AB1704210592 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 2100 GMT 15 Apr 92

["News Analysis" by Reginal Okoche]

[Text] In international relations there are no permanent enemies but permanent interests. As far as South Africa is concerned, the fundamental interests of Nigeria and the Organization of African Unity is the dismantling of apartheid and the introduction of a democratic system

which offers equal rights and opportunities to all its citizens irrespective of race or color.

There are comprehensive efforts towards the establishment of true democracy in South Africa and one of the architects of the plan to usher in a non-racial democracy in that country is President Frederik de Klerk.

This was why the Federal Government accepted his recent visit to Nigeria. The purpose was to exchange views with him as one of the major actors in South Africa's constitutional negotiations. It was also aimed at persuading him to carry the reform program to its logical conclusion. As president Ibrahim Babangida observed, Mr. De Klerk has taken a well-deserved position among his fellow South African patriots such as Steve Biko, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Clarence Makwetu, and the indomitable Nelson Mandela.

Understandably, there were criticisms from certain quarters about the visit, but most of the views expressed by the critics were not well grounded both in history and logic. Nigeria has hosted the ANC [African National Congress] leader, Dr. Nelson Mandela and his PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] counterpart, Mr. Clarence Makwetu.

Furthermore, Nigeria's role in the struggle for the decolonization of Africa and the eradication of apartheid is unparalleled on the continent. The country's material and financial support for liberation movements in South Africa in the last 20 years has run into millions of nairas. These acts of solidarity earned Nigeria the status of a Frontline State. The critics were also not fair to Mr. De Klerk who is still contending with the opposition of a few racist hardliners.

It is therefore unreasonable to expect the man to suddenly dismantle an apartheid structure that took decades to erect. Moreover, there is no wisdom in insisting that one should avoid a man with whom he wants to strike a bargain. African countries should open dialogue with the Pretoria regime as a means of sustaining the pressure to quicken the pace of negotiations.

It is obvious that Mr. De Klerk's visit to Nigeria recorded some significant achievements. For instance, officials of the South African Government met for the first time with representatives of the Pan-Africanist Congress, PAC. This was a remarkable development in view of the fact that the PAC has been boycotting negotiations with for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa.

The Abuja meeting explored ways of involving the PAC in future talks of Codesa. Secondly, De Klerk's visit afforded President Babangida the opportunity to make it clear to the Pretoria regime that normalization of relations between Nigeria and South Africa depended on the success of the Codesa negotiations and the establishment of a transitional government which will pave way for a non-racial constitution.

But, perhaps, more importantly, the visit enabled Nigerian Government officials and the mass media to have a better understanding of the complexity and challenges in South Africa. This understanding will, no doubt, (?do away) with the simplistic analysis of the situation in South Africa which tended to reduce the problem of that country to only racism. In fact, the issue now is not racism but how the individual ethnic, racial, and interest groups can have a sense of security and belonging in a new South Africa.

For instance, the black on black violence has nothing to do with racism. It stems from ethnic and political intolerance of supporters of the various political organizations. Happily, President De Klerk has assured the government and people of Nigeria that he will not only crackdown on violence, but will also work tirelessly until an accord based on justice, peace, equal right, and participation is reached by all sections of the South African society.

With the frank discussions between President De Klerk and the OAU chairman, General Babangida, there is every reason to be optimistic that a greater sense of sincerity and urgency will be injected into the Codesa negotiations for a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

Human Rights Report Critical of Government

AB2104163092 London BBC World Service in English
0630 GMT 20 Apr 92

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] Nigeria's leading human rights group, the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights [CDHR], has released a report over the weekend that takes the military government to task over its human rights record. But it is not only the military who are criticized. The report also attacks the bureaucracy of the two new political parties set up last year by the government to return the country to civilian rule early next year. Well, in Lagos our correspondent, Martin Lamb, has been talking to the president of the CDHR; that is, Dr. Bekor Ransome-Kuti. He asked him first if the violations documented in this year's annual report showed any improvement over last year.

[Begin recording] [Ransome-Kuti] The only improvement one has seen is just the relatives of the alleged coup plotters. [sentence as heard] But besides that people are still being killed arbitrarily, the police are still arresting people, and as you know a newspaper, the CONCORD, has just been closed, and all the paraphernalia of arbitrary arrests and so on are still in place.

[Lamb] We are due to have a civilian government in January. What are your hopes for the future? That is, are things going to get better next year?

[Ransome-Kuti] I feel very pessimistic. The first is we are not even sure that General Babangida intends to leave. We find it really very difficult for him to leave, considering his

record up till now. But one doesn't see how the political parties that he has sponsored—they are using his manifesto, the treasury is empty [sentence as heard]. People are going to come out showing their discontentment openly. At best, what one sees is that within a few weeks or months the Army are going to come back and claim that they have come to save us again.

[Lamb] So you think there would be a real danger of another military government within a year?

[Ransome-Kuti] I think it is inevitable unless people really stand up and get themselves organized.

[Lamb] The two parties that are allowed at the moment, of course, have very tight controls under the military government, but what do you think of the idea that once one of them is in power after January then things might be more relaxed and even more parties allowed?

[Ransome-Kuti] Oh well, that is an optimistic scenario, but how do we know what programs they have now? They haven't told us what programs they have, so how are they going to be voted in? We know the elections are being rigged. We are positive. It is where Babangida decides that is going to come up as the winner, and no matter what the votes are they will manipulate it. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Senegal

RSA's 'Unconditional' Admission to OAU Favored

MB2104125492 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 0500 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Senegal, venue of South Africa's readmission to international athletics at the weekend, says it favors the unconditional admission of this country to the Organization of African Unity. The statement that could bring South Africa another step closer to membership of the organization, was made by Senegalese Foreign Minister [title as heard] Abdoulaye Wade during a visit to Washington. He told officials that his government's position on the possible inclusion of South Africa in the OAU was based on recent changes in South Africa. Organizers of next month's Pan African Congress on democracy in Africa have meanwhile confirmed that South Africa is one of 48 countries that will participate. President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria will be chairing the conference which will be held in Senegal.

Togo

Unions Issue Statement on RPT Funds

AB2004134092 Lome Radio Lome in French
1900 GMT 17 Apr 92

[Statement issued by the National Confederation of Togolese Workers in Lome on 17 April—read by Secretary General Sona Kinde]

[Text] Following the various statements on the workers' contributions to the RPT [Rally of the Togolese People] state party fund, notably those statements made by:

1. The secretary general of new RPT on 20 February;
2. The general treasurer of new RPT on 2 April;
3. The minister delegate to the prime minister in charge of relations with the High Council of the Republic, HCR, and government spokesman, and the statement made by the prime minister during a news conference on 10 April;

The CNTT [National Confederation of Togolese Workers], after meeting with the secretary general of new RPT on 14 April and the prime minister on 15 April, urges the national transitional union government and RPT officials to do all they can to present as early as possible a clear financial situation of the RPT in order to enable workers who have made effective contributions to have the full knowledge of the case.

The CNTT regrets that neither the RPT nor the government have thought it their duty to consult trade union organizations, representatives of the workers who made the contributions, before deciding on the destination of

this fund. The CNTT's concern is to preserve social peace in the country by all means.

Issued in Lome on 17 April
For the National Executive Council of the CNTT
[Signed] The secretary general

[Lome Radio Lome in French at 1900 GMT on 17 April reports the following: Since the sovereign national conference, certain Togolese who are allergic to the democratic renewal have constantly disrupted the ongoing democratic process in our country. The Union of Workers of the Autonomous Port of Lome [SYNTRAPAL] are indignant at this behavior which creates fear among the population.

As for the recovery of the RPT fund, SYNTRAPAL endorses the sovereign national conference decision and demands that this fund be allocated to victims of sociopolitical disturbances in conformity to the provisions of the RPT statute. Consequently, SYNTRAPAL urges all the socioprofessional groups not to give in to any maneuvers of intimidation and manipulation, whatever their origin, for the success of the democratic process.

Issued on Lome on 17 April 1992]

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

23 April 1992

